

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH



LIBRARY

VauLt





AN

HISTORICAL GENEALOGY,

&c. &c.



HISTORICAL GENEALOGY

OF THE

ROYAL HOUSE

OF

STUARTS,

FROM THE

REIGN OF K. ROBERT II. TO THAT OF K. JAMES VI.

TAKEN FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC AUTHORS,
BOTH SCOTCH AND ENGLISH.

BY THE

REV. MARK NOBLE, F.A.S. of L. and E.

RECTOR OF BARMING IN KENT,

AND

DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

LONDON:

Printed for R. FAULDER, No. 42, New BOND STREET.

1795.

J CS 479 J S 93 M7 1795

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

JOHN, EARL OF GALLOWAY,

Knight of the most ancient Order of the Thistle, &c.

DESCENDED FROM A BRANCH OF THE ROYAL HOUSE OF

STUART,

THIS VOLUME IS,

BY PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY

AND

MOST GRATEFULLY
DEDICATED.



PREFACE.

THERE is nothing more difficult to be underflood than the History of Scotland, owing to the vague manner in which writers speak of the different branches of the Royal Family of that kingdom; few dates, too, are given, and those generally erroneous. The Reader, therefore, it is presumed, will not think the Author has mispent some of his leisure hours in drawing up a Genealogy of the Stuarts from the reign of K. Robert II. to the union of the British crowns—a period important not only to the Scotch, but also to the English.

BARMING PARSONAGE, Sept. 10, 1795.



LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

A.

The Countess Dowager of Aylesford, 2 copies.

The Hon. George Annelley.

The Rev. John Adamthwaite, D. D.

John Allen, of Clement's Inn, Efq. F. A.S.

John Ash, of London, Esq. M. D. F.R.

John Allen, of Ridgrove, Worcestershire, Efq.

В.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire.

The Right Hon. Lord Visc. Beauchamp.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bp. of Bangor. Sir Jos. Banks, Bart. President of the Royal

Society.

Mrs. Bouverie, of Teston, Kent.

cestershire, Esq.

John-Tho. Batt, Adelphi, London, Efq. Thomas-Stade Baker, of Brookhoufe, Wor-

Geo.-Hollinston Barker, of Binminsham, Esq. F. A. S.

John Bingham, of Birmingham, Efq. John Baker, of Waresley-House, Wor-

cestershire, Esq. Rev. Geo. Batt, Chaplain in ordinary to

His Majesty.

The Rev. John Brock, Bidborough. Kent. Mr. Tho. Brettell, jun. Summerhill, Staffordshire. Mr. Tho. Bird, of Worcester.

Mr. John Bedford, of Pershore, Worcestershire.

Mr. Blayney, of Evesham, Worcestershire.

C.

The Earl of Clarendon.

The Hon. F. Conway.

Will. Childe, of Kinlet, Salop, Efq.

Mrs. Chattock, Park Hall, Warwickshire. The Rev. Tho. Cherry, A.M. of Maid-

The Rev. Tho. Cherry, A. M. of Maid-ftone.

Mr. Edw. Carless, of Grove House, Harbourne, Staffordshire.

Mr. Clifton, Registrar of the diocese of Worcester.

Tho. Chattock, of Castle-Bromwick, Warwickshire, Esq.

Coleshill Book Society.

D.

The Earl of Darnley.

The Right Hon. Lord Vife. Duncannon.

The Rev. John Davy, D. D. Master of Baliol College, Oxon.

Oliver Dixon, of Old Swinford, Worceftershire, Esq.

Oliver Dixon, of Stourbridge, Efq.

E.

The Earl of Eglington.

The Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ely.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Will. Evans, of Lincoln's-Inn, Efq. Tho. Elton, of Gaddesden, Herts, Efq.

F.

The Hon. Tho. Foley, M.P.

Tho. Farley, of Fenwick, near Worcefter, Esq.

Mr. Fantder, New Bond Street, Bookfeller to His Majesty.

G.

His Grace the Duke of Graston.

His Grace the Duke of Gordon.

The Earl of Galloway.

Mrs. Gifborne, of Sandy-Brook, Derbyfhire.

Joseph Green, of Birmingham, Esq. The Rev. Tho. Gisborne, Yoxall Lodge, Staffordshire.

H.

The Earl of Harcourt.

Tho. Hooper, of Worcester, Esq. M.D. John Hurtle, of Sion Hill, Worcestershire,

Eſq.

Charles Howard, of Lichfield, Efq.
John Holmes, of Booley, Worcestershire,
Efq.

Sam. Holland, of Tenbury, Efq. Mr. John Holl, of Worcester, Efq.

Ι.

James Johnstone, of Worcester, Efq. M.D. Will. Johnstone, of the Temple, Efq.

К.

James Kinnersley, of Ludlow, Efq. The Rev. James Kennedy, Rector of Nettlested, and Vicar of Teston, Kent.

Ι...

The most noble the Marquis of Lothian. The Earl of Leicester, 6 copies.

The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of London,

The Hon, and Right Rev. the Lord Bishopof Lichfield and Coventry.

The Hon. Geo. Fulke Lyttelton, M.P. Humphry Lyttelton, of Worcester, Esq. The Rev. John Lloyd, of Boxley.

M.

The Right Hon. Lord Macartney. The Right Hon. Lady Macartney.

The Hon. Mrs. Marsham.

Sir Cha. Middleton, Bart.

The late John Meredith, of Castle-Bromwick, Warwickshire, Esq.

Rich. Mugg Mence, of Worcester, Esq. Tho. Markham, of Cheltenham, Esq. John Merry, of Aylesford-House, Warwickshire, Esq.

N.

The late Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Norwich.

The late Mr. John Noble.

Mr. Edw. Moore Noble, of Birmingham.

The Earl of Upper Offory.

P.

The Earl of Plymouth.

The late Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Peterborough.

The Rev. Ja. Pratchett, Rector of Holgate. The Rev. Jam. Pearson, of Meacham, Leicestershire, F. A. S.

Rob. Pardoe, of Lincoln's-Inn, Efq.

Mr. Tho. Price, Attorney at Law, in Worcester.

Mr. Price, Attorney at Law, in Wolver-hampton.

Mr. Pratchett, of Birmingham, 6 copies. Mr. Pearson, Bookseller, of Birmingham,

Mr. Pearlon, Bookfeller, of Birmingham, 6 copies.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Mr. Tho. Penrice, Droitwich. Mr. Benj. Parker, Birmingham.

R.

The Earl of Radnor.

The late Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Rochester, 2 copies.

The late Rt. Hon. Lord Romney, 2 copies. Philip Rashleigh, Esq. M.P.

Wilfon-Aylefbury Roberts, of Packwood, Warwickshire, Efq. F. A. S.

Mr. John Rickards, Attorney at Law in Birmingham.

S.

The Earl of Sandwich.

The Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

The Right Hon. Lord Shuldham.

Sir Cha. Style, Bart.

Miss Southwell.

Jobias Stapelton, of Lincoln's Inn, Efq. Joseph Scott, of Kingswinford, Stafford-

fhire, Efq.

The Rev. Rob. Style, Rector of Mereworth, and Vicar of Watringbury, Kent. Mr. Jonathan Sky, of Bewdley. Mr. John Snape, of Moxhall, Warwickfhire.

Mr. Smart, Bookseller, in Worcester.

V.

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Valentia.
W.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Wor-

Mrs. Warren, the Lady of the Lord Bishop of Bangor.

Tho. Jacob White, of Whitley, Worcestershire, Esq.

Will. Wakefield, of Minworth, in Warwickshire, Esq.

Mr. Tho. Wakefield, Minworth, Warwickshire.

Mr. John Wakefield, of Water-Orton, Warwickshire.

Mr. Jon. Weeks, of Worcester.

Mr. Fra. Welles, of Upton, Worcestershire.

Y.

Mr. Henry Young, Ludgate Hill. Mr. Rich. Yeomans, of Worcester.



CONTENTS

OF

THIS VOLUME.

PART I. ORIGIN of the Stuarts. Lives of Banquo, Thane of Lochabar; Fleance, Walter, first hereditary High Steward of Scotland; Alan, Walter, Alexander, James, and Walter, who were fucceffively also High Stewards of Scotland	Page
PART II. SECT I.	
The History of K. Robert II. his Wives, and younger Children by them, and also his illegitimate Issue	15
SECT. II.	
The Life of Robert, Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, fecond Son of K. Robert II. with his Wives and younger Children, by each of them	
SECT. III.	
The Life of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, eldeft	
Son and Heir of Robert, Duke of Albany, and Grandson of K. Robert II. and his Issue by Isabella, his Duches	
SECT. IV.	
The Life of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, the third Son of K. Rob. II with his Marriage, and the Life of his natural Son Duncan	- 66

SECT. V.	Page
The Life of David, Earl of Strathern, eldest Son of the second Marriage of K. Robert II. and Q. Eupheme, and an Account of his Descendants	66
SECT. VI.	
The Life of Walter, Earl of Athol, fecond Son of K. Robert II. and Q. Eupheme — — — — —	69
PART III.	
The History of Robert III. King of Scotland; his Marriage, and Issue also of a natural Daughter	74
PART IV.	
The History of James I. King of Scotland; his Marriage and Issue	91
PART V.	
The History of James II. King of Scotland; his Marriage and Issue	10#
SECT. II.	
The Life of Alexander, Duke of Albany, fecond Son of James II. his Marriages and Children ————————————————————————————————————	121
PART VI.	
The History of James III. King of Scotland; his Marriage and Issue	132
PART VII.	
The History of James IV. King of Scotland; his Marriage and Children, with the future Husbands of his Queen, and the Issue she had by them	142

CONTENTS.

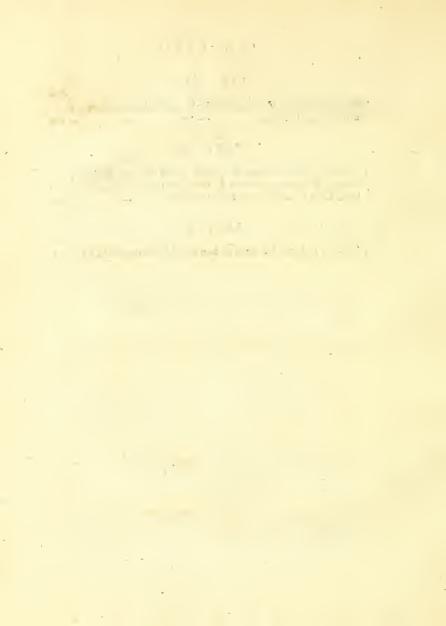
PAR	T VIII.			_
				Page
The History of James V. King of So	cotland; his M	arriage and Issue	and	
also his natural Progeny			-	179

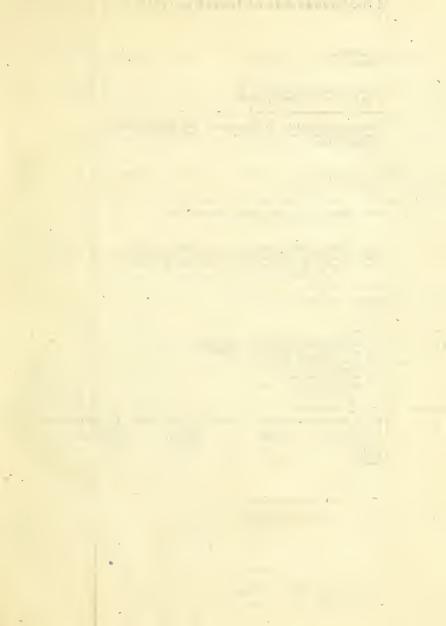
PART IX.

The History of Mary, Queen of Scotland, and of her	three Husbands,	
Francis, K. of France; Henry I. K. of Scotland;	and James Hep-	
burn, Duke of Orkney, and Earl of Bothwell	2	116

PART X.

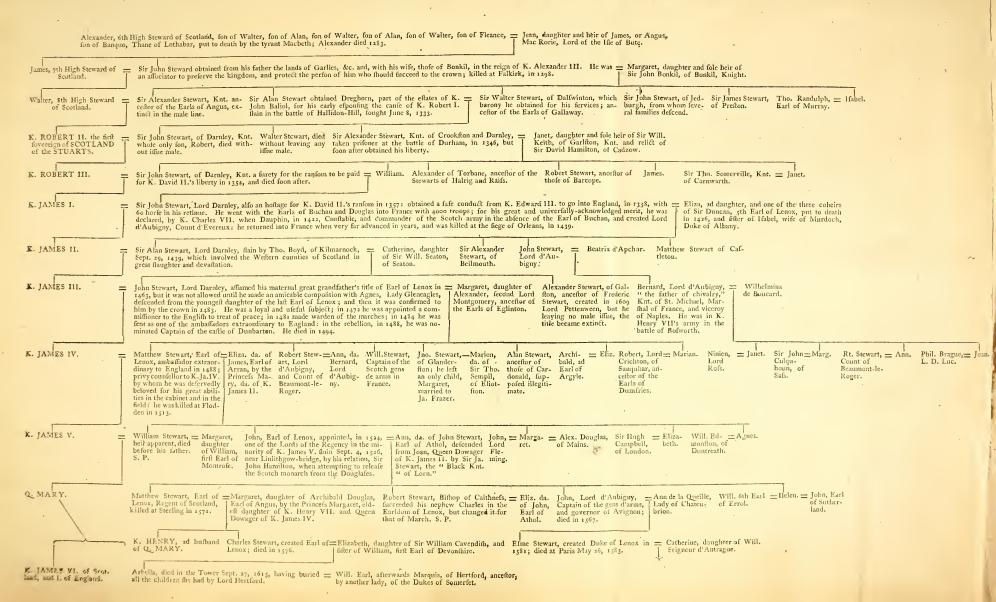
The History of James VI. King of Scotland; his Marriage and Issue 277





and the second formal way and a second

A GENEALOGY of the LENOX Branch of the STUARTS, from which descend the Sovereigns of GREAT BRITAIN.



A GENEALOGY of the LENOX

Alexander, 6th High Steward of Scotland, fon of Walter, fon of Alan, fon of Walter, fo fon of Banquo, Thane of Lothabar, put to death by the tyrant Macbeth; Alexander died James, 7th High Steward of = Sir John Steward obtained from his father the lands of Garlies, &c. and Scotland. an affociator to preferve the kingdom, and protect the person of him wh Walter, 8th High Steward Sir Alexander Stewart, Knt. an-Sir Alan Stewart obtained Dregho of Scotland, cestor of the Earls of Angus, ex-John Baliol, for his early espousing tinct in the male line. flain in the battle of Hallidon-Hill, K. ROBERT II. the first Sir John Stewart, of Darnley, Knt. whose only son, Robert, died with-Walter Stewart, died Sir Alexan fovereign of SCOTLAND without leaving any taken priff of the STUARTS. out iffue male. iffue male. foon after K. ROBERT III. Sir John Stewart, of Darnley, Knt. a furety for the ranfom to be paid for K. David II.'s liberty in 1354, and died foon after. K. IAMES I. Sir John Stewart, Lord Darnley, also an hostage for K. David II.'s rans 60 horse in his retinue. He went with the Earls of Buchan and Doug declared, by K. Charles VII. when Dauphin, in 1422, Constable, a d'Aubigny, Count d'Evereux: he returned into France when very far a K. JAMES II. Sir Alan Stewart, Lord Darnley, flain by Tho. Boyd, of Kilmarnock, Sept. 29, 1439, which involved the Western counties of Scotland in great flaughter and devastation. K. IAMES III. John Stewart, Lord Darnley, affumed his maternal great grandfather's t 1463, but it was not allowed until he made an amicable composition with A descended from the youngest daughter of the last Earl of Lenox; and the him by the crown in 1483. He was a loyal and useful subject; in 1472 l missioner to the English to treat of peace; in 1481 made warden of the m fent as one of the ambaffadors extraordinary to England: in the rebelliminated Captain of the castle of Dunbarton. He died in 1494. Phil. Brague, = Joan K. JAMES IV. wart, = Ann. Matthew Stewart, Earl of Eliza. da. of Lenox, ambaifador extraor- | James, Earl of Robert Stew--Ann, da. L. D. Luc. art, Lord Bernard, nt-le-Arran, by the Princefs Madinary to England in 1488; d'Aubigny, Lord privy counfellor to K. Ja. IV. by whom he was defervedly and Count of d'Aubigry, da. of K. Beaumont-le- ny. beloved for his great abili-James II. Roger. ties in the cabinet and in the field: he was killed at Flodden in 1513. K. JAMES V. William Stewart, = Margaret, John, Earl of Lenox, appointed, in daughter of William, héir apparent, died one of the Lords of the Regency in th before his father. nority of K. James V. flain Sept. 4, S. P. first Earl of near Linlithgow-bridge, by his relatio Montrofe. John Hamilton, when attempting to a the Scotch monarch from the Dougla Q. MARY. Matthew Stewart, Earl of -Margaret, daughter of Archibald Doug Earl of Angus, by the Princess Margaret, eeft daughter of K. Henry VII. and Qu Lenox, Regent of Scotland, killed at Sterling in 1571. Dowager of K. James IV. K. HENRY, 2d hufband Charles Stewart, created Earl of = Elizabet of Q. MARY. Lenox; died in 1576. fifter of K. JAMES VI. of Scot-

Arbella, died in the Tower Sept. 27, 1615, having buried = Will. Ea

by anothe

all the children she had by Lord Hertford.

land, and I. of England.

HISTORICAL GENEALOGY

OF THE

ROYAL FAMILY

OF

STUART,

UNTIL THEY SUCCEEDED TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.

PART I.

SECT. I.

THE regal honors have descended by semales to the families of noblemen, not only in Scotland, but England; the Baliols, the Bruces, and the Stuarts have sat upon the Scottish throne; but it is peculiarly extraordinary, that they should, after giving many sovereigns to Scotland, when reduced to a single semale in the eldest branch, by her marriage with a prince of another stem of the same samily, prolong the royal dignity in that house, and by marrying a daughter of King Henry VII., unite all the British crowns. In speaking of this genealogy, I shall only mention enough of it, to convey an idea of their rank and worth, prior to the time they became illustrious as potentates.

PART I. SECT. 1. Origin of the Stuarts. PART I. SECT. I. Origin of the Stuarts.

There is not any noble family in this island, nor, perhaps, in Europe, that can be traced higher than the eleventh century, owing to the unlettered ages preceding that period, and the rudeness and constant revolutions that happened both in kingdoms and families: but the perfecting of the feudal fystem, and the offices of grand fergeancy, made hereditary poffessions fo firich, that the genealogy of every confiderable family became in time to be particularly attended to, as fo much depended upon its accuracy. To the commencement then of hereditary fiefs in Scotland, may the history of the Stuarts be carried, but no higher with the least certainty. Some have deduced them from the royal stock; others say that they were only by a female allied to it: but all this is only conjecture, and unworthy the memorialist. That they were preceding the eleventh century of confiderable confequence both in rank and possessions, there can be no doubt: but even the names of the ancestors of Banquo, with whom these pages commence, are, and ever will be, unknown.

Banquo, Thane of Lochaber.

Banquo, the univerfally allowed ancestor of this family, was Thane of Lochaber, and was one of those who made the most conspicuous figure in the courts of Duncan and the usurper Macbeth. His valiant arm more than once defended his country from a foreign soe; but probably his popularity was what brought on his ruin. The tyrant feared one to whom he had, in a great measure, owed his elevation; and this determined him to destroy his former friend, and not from that prediction which after ages have invented to flatter royalty*. To prevent his sons revenging their father's death, they were included in the profeription. After an entertainment given in a dark night, the parent and his sons were surprised by Macbeth's emissaries: Banquo with the three eldest fell; their names were Malcolm,

^{*} It is pretended that, as Macbeth and Banquo were together, three witches foretold to them, that the former should be King, but his children should not inherit the crown, which would descend to the posterity of Banquo.

Ferguhard, and Kenneth; but Fleance, the youngest, escaped. The Thane's two daughters, Beatrix and Castisa, were given in marriage to Macdust, Thane of Fife, and Frederic, the ancestor of the Urquharts.



Fleance.

Fleance immediately fled into Cumberland to the court of Malcolm, furnamed Canmore, fon of the late king; but judging himself not safe there, or that prince not daring to afford him an afylum, he retired to that of Griffith ap Llewellin, Prince of North Wales, where he was received as his misfortunes deferved: struck with the beauty of Nesta, a daughter of that sovereign, he won her affection, and prevailed upon her to give him her hand without her father's confent; but whilft he flattered himself with the fairness of his prospects, the great favours beflowed upon a stranger procured him so many enemies, that he fell a victim to their jealoufy, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, in 1045, furviving his father only two years. By Nesta he had Walter, and a posthumous daughter, Fleancha, professed a nun in the fame monastery with her mother.

Walter, the only fon of Fleance, was no fooner grown to Walter, first hereditary high manhood, than he determined to revenge his father's murder: Steward of the great feldom, at that period, appealed to the laws; he therefore put to death Owen, the supposed culprit; but as this perfon had powerful friends, he judged it prudent to retire from their vengeance; especially when he could no longer be protected by Prince Griffith, his maternal grandfather, who died by violence in 1064. Leaving Wales, he came to the English court, but here he acted with the same passion as he had in Wales, though it had been so injurious to him; for, upon a quarrel between him and Oddo, a favourite retainer of the great Earl Harold, (who afterwards ascended the throne) he affassinated him alfo; not even the power of King Edward could have shielded him from the vengeance of Harold, he therefore was again obliged to feek his fafety by flight: he now put himself under the

HISTORICAL GENEALOGY

PART I. SECT. 1. care of Alan the Red, Duke of Brittany, a relation of the princefs his mother. Alan received him not only with favour, but placed much confidence in him: he committed a part of his forces to his care when he accompanied William, Duke of Normandy, into England, to attack Harold, whom he now beheld with the eye of an inveterate enemy. The battle of Hastings conveyed the crown from his head to that of William, who treated Walter with peculiar regard, until he discovered that he favoured the interest of Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Anglo-Saxon Kings; and as he was not trusted in England, but looked upon, on this account, with jealoufy, he determined to quit the establishment he had gained, and go to Scotland, whither his ancestors had been amongst her first subjects, and where he now thought he should be peculiarly welcome; as well, because of the misfortunes his family had suffered from the tyrant Macbeth, as his having espoused the cause of Edgar, whose fifter Margaret was become the Queen of Malcolm, to which monarch he was perfonally known, and who received into his dominions all the English who forsook their country at the Norman conquest; fo that it might be faid that the north part of the island was replenished with the inhabitants of the fouth, and many of them of the highest rank and most exalted worth: and not only did the English find an asylum at the court of this sovereign, but also the illustrious Hungarians that attended Queen Margaret. Malcolm feemed fent by Providence to afford protection to the distressed of various nations. The descendants of these exiles are amongst the highest of the Scotch nobility; by fuch a prince Walter would be kindly welcomed, not only from commiseration, but gratitude, which his fervices to Edgar demanded; and Macduff, the husband of his aunt, was high in the royal favour from having effected the reftoration of Malcolm to the throne of his ancestors. No wonder then that Scotland was the place in which he chofe finally to refide; no wonder that his reception was fuch as he experienced. Lochaber, the patrimony of his ancestors, was probably in hands from which

SECT. I.

it might not be prudent to wrest it, but in lieu of it he received a grant of Kyle and Strathgrief; and his services were so meritorious to the state that he obtained also the isle of Bute and the land of Cowal in the county of Argyle, and was raised by Malcolm to the high office of Steward of Scotland, who made it hereditary in his samily; a post of great honor, as well as of power and emolument. His death happened in 1093, leaving by Christian, daughter of Alan the Red, Duke of Brittany, six sons and three daughters. Alan, the second high Steward, of whom below; William, Edgar, Malcolm, Fleanch, and Walter, of whom historians are silent, except giving us their baptismal names: Margaret, married to Simon, ancestor of the Frasers; Emma, to Griffin, a person of great consequence in South Wales; and Helen, to Alexander, ancestor of the Abernethys.

Palestine with Godfrey, of Boulogne, where in feveral campaigns of Scotland. he obtained great fame, and returned into Scotland in the reign of King Edgar with great reputation and many trophies of his valour. This with his descent from the princely houses of North Wales and Brittany would procure him, we may suppose, the greatest sway in the palaces of the sovereigns he was cotemporary with; he is supposed to have died in 1153: there are three charters extant dated towards the end of the reign of King David I., to which he was a witness, and all of them give his name with the addition of "Dapifer." By Margaret, daughter of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, he had three sons; Walter, the successor to his honors; Adam and Simon, who in the chartulary

of Paisley is called frater to Walter, and filius Alani Dapiseri; whose son Robert is generally allowed to be the ancestor of the Boyds, Earls of Kilmarnock, as this Robert is stilled nepos in that

register to Walter.

Alan, fecond high Steward, went in his father's life-time to Alan, fecond

Walter the third High Steward succeeded to his father in his Walter, the third High honors and possessions, in the same year that Malcolm IV., ascended steward of Stephand



the throne; in the charters passed early in that reign he is called " filius Alani Dapifer meus;" his prowess was conspicuous, as the annals of Scotland can witness, for he not only defended his own barony of Renfrew, of which Kyle and Strathgrief-were parts; but the whole kingdom, against the daring attempts, and treasonable practices of Sumerled, who returning from Ireland, whither he had been obliged to fly, landed with a body of desperate followers, who were defeated by him, and their leader either killed in the engagement or publicly executed, for authors are not agreed as to that fact. For these, and other important services his sovereign King Malcolm IV., confirmed his predeceffor David's grant to him of the hereditary office of High Steward of Scotland, and of those ample possessions the preceding monarchs had bestowed upon his ancestors. In imitation of King David I., he was fingularly liberal to the Monkish order, in founding and endowing the magnificent abbey of Paifley, and bestowing much upon the monasteries of Dumferling, Kelfo, Aberbroth, Couper, Melrop, and others, in which he ordered masses for the repose of the souls of himself, and those of his family; and to flew his earnest attachment to the sovereigns of Scotland, their's were also, together with their issue, included in his pious remembrances. He died in 1177, during the reign of King William 1. leaving by his wife, Eseluira, two sons and a daughter.

Alan, thefourth High Steward of Scotland.

Alan the eldest fon of the former, became the fourth High Steward of Scotland; characteristic of the manners of the age he lived in, he devoted his life to arms, and to what was then supposed the cause of the christian religion, attending the forces collected, and led into Palestine by Philip, and Richard, Kings of France and England; David, Earl of Huntingdon; and Gariock, youngest brother of Malcolm IV. and William I. Kings of Scotland; with these illustrious personages he remained until the surrender of Ptolemais to the crusaders. Upon his return to his native country, he shewed equal bravery in attacking and defeating the rebels of Moravia, whose general Roderic, he is said to have slain with his own hand, in a bloody engagement fought near Inverness. This martial cha-

racter deccased in 1204, also in the reign of King William I.: he married Alesta, daughter of Morgunda, Earl of Mar, by whom he had,



Walter, fifth High Steward, generally called of Dondonald, Walter, the fifth High Steward from making that his usual residence; his father was constantly of Scotland. stiled Dapifer Regis Scotorum, as were his ancestors; but he changed it into Senescallus Domini Regis Scotiæ; whence came the furname of Stewart, Stuart, or Steward; in the same manner as we have Boteler, and Chamberlain, which, like the former, have given furnames to noble families, who bore in the English court those offices hereditarily; and, from this time, Steward became the family name of this house in all its branches, with one exception, though with some variation in the orthography, the royal family having for many years spelt it Stuart. This nobleman excelled both as a statesman and a general; he negotiated the marriage of his sovereign King Alexander II. with Mary his last Queen, going over into France to effect it; and his conduct was fo well approved of, that he was appointed in the fixteenth year of this reign Lord Justiciary of Scotland; fo that in that, and the capacity of Steward, he must have had a prodigious fway in the kingdom; nor did he deferve it less as a commander, for he was the most conspicuous of those who fought under the royal banners in quelling the infurrection of Thomas Mac-Doulan, and his affociate Gildroth; the former of whom laying claim to Galloway, though only the illegitimate for of the late Earl, came with great forces from Man, Olave, the king of that island, having given him his daughter in marriage; and being joined by the people of Galloway, the greatest danger was threatened, until he was brought to the most abject submission; but fome time after, returning with many forces collected in Ireland, Walter was conflituted general against him, and he compelled him a fecond time to accept the royal clemency. He was equally munificent with his father in his charities to the Monks; and in his piety towards his ancestors, in establishing masses for the repose of their fouls; but in these his sovereign King William, his progenitors



and relations, were always included; evincing by it, his constant and fleady attachment to his Prince, and the kingly office, little expecting how foon his own progeny should be feated upon their throne. His death happened in the year 1241, at which time he was in possession of the great offices of High Steward and Jufticiary. By espousing Beatrix, daughter of Gilchrift, the heroic Earl of Angus, he allied himself to the crown; for her mother was Marjory, daughter of Henry, Prince of Scotland, and fifter of King Malcolm IV. and KingWilliam I. The iffue of this marriage was four fons and three daughters; Alexander, who succeeded to the hereditary honors and estates; John, who became a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, and who fell in battle fighting against the infidels, either in Egypt or fome other part of Africa. Walter, who in right of the lady his wife obtained the earldom of Monteith, which was allowed to him at Scoon in 1285, and appointed one of the auditors of the two competitors for the crown of Scotland in 1291; he certainly was the friend of the Brucian interest, which he continued to espouse after King Edward I. of England had obtained the refignation of King John, justly preferring the independence of the kingdom to all the emoluments that potent fovereign could have bestowed upon him; but this fo exasperated that sanguinary Prince, that though he was feventy-five years of age when he fell into his hands at the battle of Dunbar, fought in 1296, yet he condemned him to die as a traitor, which dreadful fentence he underwent; his descendants, according to the Scotch custom, took the furname of Monteith, his wife being an heiress; the earldom continued in the family until the middle of the fourteenth century, when from failure of male iffue, it passed into that of the Grahams'. The fourth fon of Walter was named William; the daughters were Beatrix, Christian, and Margaret, who were married according to the greatness of their birth.

Alexander, the fixth High Steward of Scotland. Alexander, finth High Steward of Scotland, was one of the greatest characters that either his own family, or Scotland has produced; he received his education in the palace of King Alexander II. in the first year of whose reign he was born; the former

part of his life is unknown, influenced by the prevailing opinion of the age, and which his relations feem warmly to have cherished, he, in 1248, embarked for the Holy Land, under the standard of Sr. Lewis, King of France, together with his brother, and other illustrious Scotchmen; his valor and prudence were fo great, that upon the death of the Earl of Dunbar, he was placed at the head of his countrymen as their commander; but previous to his embarking in this, then supposed pious, expedition, he confirmed the charters which his ancestors had given to the monastery of Paisley, obliging also his descendants to do the same under penalty of eternal damnation, in case he never returned; which he did in or before 1255, for in that year he was of the council to King Alexander III. and was greatly inftrumental in releafing the persons of his sovereigns out of the hands of the Cummins who had feized them, and governed the kingdom, in the name indeed of the King, but intirely by their own authority. There could not be a greater instance of confidence placed in another, than was in this noblemen by his fovereign; for when King Alexander III. was in England with Margaret his Queen, it was stipulated that if he died, and her Majesty was brought to bed of a living child, the infant should be given by King Henry III. and his brother Richard, King of the Romans. to his care, that the nation might fee their future fovereign placed in the fafest hands; but as the King returned home, he was not called upon to fulfil fo important a trust; his conduct at Largis in 1263, proved that he was deserving of this pre-eminent distinction, for commanding the right wing of the royal army, in the battle fought against Acho, King of Norway, who had invaded Scotland with 20,000 men; by his united valor and prudence having releafed his fovereign, he affifted him in defeating and purfuing the flying invader, not only to the extremity of the kingdom, but to the western islands, and to Man, whither the Norwegians had retired, and by fo doing he put an end to the depredations of that more northern nation, which had often involved Scotland in the utmost danger. In recompence for fuch important fervices, he received, November the 30th in that year, the barony of Garleys in the Stew-



artry of Kircudbright. He was amongst the other great men of the nation who were proxies in 1281, relative to the articles of marriage between Margaret, the heires of the kingdom, and the Prince of Norway; he survived that alliance only two years, dying in 1283, having lived more than sixty-nine years. In imitation of the example of his ancestors he was liberal to the abbey of Paisley, as also to the canons of Dryburgh, and some other monasteries. He married Jean, daughter and heires of James, or Angustnac Roric, Lord of the Isle of Bute, supposed to have been descended from a common ancestor: their issue was two sons and a daughter; James, High Steward; John, who by Margaret, daughter and heires of Sir John de Bonkil, was progenitor of the Darnley or Lenox branch of the Stuarts, one of whom was the well-known Henry Lord Darnley, who married Mary Queen of Scotland; and Elizabeth, married to Sir William Douglas, surnamed the Hardy.

James, feventh High Steward of Scotland.

James, the feventh High Steward of Scotland, is supposed to have been born in 1243, and that he attended St. Lewis of France in 1270, with other noblemen of Scotland, into Palestine. It is thought he did not wish for the crown to descend to the Princess Margaret of Norway; yet he recognized her title in case King Alexander III. died without leaving a male heir; upon the death of that monarch, he was one of the fix Peers who were appointed guardians of the realm; but when factions divided the kingdom, he with his brothers and uncles, Walter, Earl of Monteith, John and Alexander, with various persons of the Bruce family, and others, the first characters of that time, united together with the Earls of Clare and Ulster to withstand all who opposed their interest, except the person who should be adjudged their sovereign, and the two latter, faving their allegiance to King Edward I. of England; this bond bears date at Turneburie in Carric, September 20th, 1286. In the competition for the crown between the contenders Baliol and Bruce, which was the consequence of the Princess's death, he declared in favor of the latter, and courageously pleaded in behalf of Bruce before King Edward I. when at Berwic in 1292; but

finding the crown adjudged to King John, of the family of Baliol, he acquiesced in the determination, and accepted of the government of Roxburgh Castle; true to that cause, he refused to surrender it, either to the King of England or Bruce when he was fummoned by each in 1296; the loyalty he shewed does honor to his character; but when he perceived that John had become only a nominal fovereign, he again united with those firm friends to the state, who had, like him, been obliged to relinquish their party; for in the following year he, with the gallant Sir William Wallace, strove to free Scotland from a foreign yoke; but, like them, was obliged to submit to the all-powerful fword of Edward; though he had been constrained to it in 1298, he permitted his brother Sir John Stuart to unite with Wallace at the battle of Falkirk, where he fell; and in 1302, he was one of the commissioners appointed to go to France, to ask assistance to protect the Scotch against England; and there can be little doubt but that he firmly adhered to the cause and person of King Robert, whom he lived to see acknowledged as fovereign by the greatest part of the kingdom, as appears by a letter figned by him, and many others of the first consequence in the nation, and fent by them to the French monarch in 1309; dying July the 16th following, his corpfe was buried in the abbey of Paifley, before the high altar. By the daughter of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, who exchanged the title for that of March, he had iffue three fons and a daughter; Walter, John, slain in the battle of Dundalk in Ireland, fought in 1318; James, ancestor of the Stewarts of Roffyth in Fife; and Egidea, who married to Alexander Menzies; King Robert I. gave them a charter for the barony of Durifdale.

Walter, the eighth hereditary High Steward, was born in 1293; Walter, eighth he was knighted in the royal camp at Bannockburn, whither he scotland. brought a confiderable body of forces, and was honored with the command of the fourth battalion in the army that was led forth against King Edward II. where the bravery and experience of the Scottish monarch so eminently prevailed against the rash and pusilla-



nimous conduct of the English fovereign; nor was the judgment of this nobleman less conspicuous in detecting the falseness of some of his countrymen, who were in the interest of England, though they bore arms against the people of that nation. The victory gave stability to the government, and was productive of the highest advantages to this illustrious character; for amongst the great personages that were released from confinement, and fent into Scotland in confequence of a subsequent treaty of peace between the contending powers, was Marjory, the daughter and only child of King Robert I. This Princess, with the others, was conducted to the borders, where she was received and brought by him to her royal parent at Sterling, attended by many of the youthful nobles and gentry; attached to each other, he asked and obtained the hand of Marjory with the confent of the King, and the approbation of the parliament; their nuptials were celebrated with a pomp and splendour equal to the dignity of the parties; Scotland did not offer a better alliance than himself, nor probably a superior in merit; to his family it procured the crown which remained with them for so many generations; to himself it must have brought the greatest accession of confequence, as by it he was so nearly allied to the sovereign upon the throne, who augmented his patrimony by very liberal grants of lands and baronies: his conduct evinced that he deferved all the many honors conferred upon him; for he most heroically defended Berwic, of which he was governor, against a gallant army sent by the English court to attack it, who used every effort that valor and prudence could dictate, but in vain: and in a subsequent war, he behaved with fo much spirit, that not content with defeating, he purfued the royal fugitive to York, with a body of 500 horse only, and was fo near taking him, that he came to that city as the King entered the gates, braving him by killing feveral of his attendants, and infulting the citizens. His behaviour was fo conflantly meritorious, that he was very dear, both to the King his father-in-law, and to the nation in general, who lamented his early death, which happened April oth, 1327, at his residence of Bathcate, in Lothian, when only in the thirty-seventh year of his age:

PART. I.

his remains were buried at Paisley. He married thrice, first, Alice, daughter of Sir John Erskine, of Erskine, Knight, by whom he had an only child, Jean, who became the fecond wife of Hugh, Earl of Ross; whose fon William, Earl of Ross, is called, on different accounts, nephew and brother-in-law to King Robert II. fecond wife of Walter was Marjory, fole child of the first marriage of King Robert I. upon which Princess the crown was limited by many acts of Parliament, passed in the reign of her father, if her half brother, Prince David, (who afterwards ascended the throne) should die issueless. As this lady, on Shrove-Tuesday in 1316, was returning from Paifley to the castle of Renfrew, the principal feat of her husband, she fell from her horse, and dislocating her neck, died immediately; but as the infant she was then pregnant of was perceived to be alive, the Cæsarian operation was performed, and the male child taken from her received no other injury than having a blemish in his eye; from which circumstance the people gave him the name of the Blear-eyed. He became King of Scotland, by the name of Robert II.; and what is extraordinary, this Princess is remembered still in Scotland by the name of "Queen Bleary," though she never was a Queen, and the cross erected upon the spot where she fell, is called "Queen Bleary's:" the body of this. Princess was buried at Paisley, where her monument still remains, upon which lie her effigies in a recumbent posture, the hands closed in the attitude of prayer: above it was a rich arch with sculptures of arms and other suitable devices *. The third wife

^{*} The chapel at Paisley, where the Princess Marjory was buried, is still remaining; a circumstance uncommon when the lawless violence of the Scotch reformers under Knox is recollected: it is the greatest curiosity in the town in which it stands; for when the door, the only one it has, is slutt, the noise is equal to a loud, and not very distant, clap of thunder; if a single note of music is struck, the sound gradually ascends, until it dies away in the air, as if at a vast distance, disfusing itself the whole time in the circumambient air; and if a good voice sings, or a musical instrument is well played upon, the effect is inexpressibly agreeable. This chapel is now the burial place of the Earl of Abercorn's samily; but it has no pulpit nor pews, nor any other ornament whatever of that kind within it.



of this High Steward was Ifabel, daughter of the gallant Sir John Graham of Abercorn, by whom he had Sir John Steward, whom King Robert II. ftiles brother in feveral of his charter; and Egidia, who married three husbands; Sir James Lindsay of Glenesk, Sir Hugh Eglinton of Ardrossan, and Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith.

PART II.

SECT. I.

KING Robert II. the only child of Walter, the eighth High PART II. Steward of Scotland by the Princess Marjory, daughter of King KingRobert II. Robert I. never experienced the care of one of his parents, and before he arrived at the age of twelve years he lost his father, and foon after was deprived of the guardianship of his royal grandfather, King Robert I. fo that his youth feemed to be marked with unufual difasters, especially as King David II. his uncle, from his minority was unable to either inspect his education, or to give him that consequence in his court that his nearness of blood demanded; for David, though the half-brother of the Princess his mother, was but a very few years older than himself; but Edward, the eldest son of John Baliol, renewing his claim to the crown, and his cause having been espoused by England, and by many of the Scotch nation, his hopes of ever succeeding, even if David left no iffue, were very doubtful; he however endeavoured to deferve the fuccession by his gallant behaviour in defending the crown against the attempts of Baliol, as foon as it was possible for him to appear in arms, for he commanded the fecond battalion of the royal army at the battle of Halidon-hill fought in 1333, when his age did not: exceed feventeen years, and which gave his enemies fo decided a triumph by the victory they obtained, that the Scotch nation seemed to have abandoned the cause of the Brucian family, and to be disposed to receive and acknowledge the Baliol claim, as thinking it impossible to withstand the united forces of the heir of King John, and of the brave and puissant Edward III. of England his ally :



even David feemed to defert his throne, to make room for his adversary, by retiring into France; but Robert, who had escaped by a boat to Dunbarton Castle, exerted all that youthful ardor which the greatness of the occasion deserved, and the necessity of the times demanded; affifted by Sir Malcolm Fleming, then his guardian, and Sir Colin Campbell, ancestor of the Dukes of Argyle, he put himself at the head of a body of highlanders, and rushing down upon the fouthern and western counties, recovered not only his own great patrimonial effates, but the chief places in those parts of the kingdom; fo acceptable a fervice performed in fo critical a moment procured him the highest post of honour that could be bestowed, for he was appointed jointly with the Earl of Murry guardian of the kingdom, until his fovereign should return; but unhappily in the following year, whilst King Edward invaded his country with a powerful army, drawn from his own dominions, and the Netherlands, he was confined by illness; so that he had the mortification to fee that potent monarch victorious; to know that his coadjutor was fallen into his hands, and that many of the Scotch had declared for the English; judge how mortified he must be, as well as exasperated, when he discovered that these traitors pretended to have done this, not only by his permission, but under a commission expressly given by him for that purpose *. The odium they meditated, however fell only upon themselves, the Scotch still honouring him with their confidence, kept him in his high office of guardian, but united with him in it, Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwel; and upon Sir Andrew's death in 1338, notwithstanding that he was then a very young man, he was declared fole governor of the kingdom; which high and important office he held until the year 1342, when his fovereign King David returned from France, and

^{*} The High Steward's name is figned to a treaty with King Edward III. and Edward Baliol with others, promifing fubmiffion and fealty; but it is generally believed a forgery to fecond the views of the English monarch, and Baliol the tool of that great Prince's ambition. Had he acted to contrary to reason, and his own interest, it is scarce to be supposed that his countrymen would have placed any, especially such great, considence in him.

PART II. SECT. 1. King Robert II.

took the reigns of government again into his own hands. It is confeffed that from some diflike he had to Lord Murray, he did not take so active a part as had been expected from his youth and valor; but illness partly excuses him, whatever his conduct then was. When he obtained the fole guardianship of the nation, he behaved with fo much prudence, discretion, and activity, that the return of David was intirely owing to him; for though in 1338, he fuffered a defeat from the English general, Sir Thomas Berkeley, and narrowly escaped falling into his power, yet affembling a fuitable force in the following year, he retook the Castle of Perth, one of the most important places in Scotland; in 1340, he regained Edinburgh Castle, and in 1341, that of Sterling; he gave the possession the command of the Lowlands, and the Highlands were always fecure against the English interest, so that David was enabled by these successes to sit again in the throne of his ancestors, and this owing to the prowess and activity of Robert; if his duty therefore had at any time flumbered, his subsequent conduct fully excused him, and he was the first of the Scottish subjects who took an oath of fidelity to David when he arrived, meeting him at Perth. He accompanied that monarch in his expedition into England, commanding in the van of the army; in 1346, he again attended his fovereign into that kingdom at the head of the fecond line, as the Earls of Murray and Douglas did at the head of the third; his conduct was extremely gallant, for feeing the advantage of the English bowmen, he charged them sword in hand with fuch impetuofity that they fell back upon Lord Percy's division, which would have fuffered an entire defeat, had it not been fupported by the personal bravery and good conduct of Edward Baliol, who was reinforced by 2000 horse; but, though he could not fucceed in his aim, yet he made a very able retreat; however as he did not return with his division, David was greatly diffatisfied, and thence supposed that the English were enabled to conquer, and to lead him away a prisoner; this at least many of the Scottish historians relate; but as he was again appointed guardian of the kingdom, it is not easy to conclude what could induce the kingdom



to place fo great a confidence in him, if he had been the cause of her misfortunes. We must applaud the fingular prudence with which he led back the remains of the army into Scotland; he governed in such a manner as to prevent the total destruction of the kingdom; and preferved its independence by refusing to listen for a moment to the unreasonable demands exacted by the victorious Edward; for by an article in the treaty concluded between the two fovereigns, it was stipulated that in case David had no child, he should procure the succession for King Edward, if he possibly could, by having it ratified by the states, which agreement sacrificed the interest of the High Steward in particular, and the nation in general; this gives us but a mean idea of this monarch; and it plainly appears that David's affection for the heir of his crown was not great, nor his attention to his subjects such as their loyalty deserved : but there are no proofs of what we find in fo many writers, that he had so strong a personal dislike to Robert, that he took from him the right of fuccession, to give it to Alexander the son, and heir of the Earl of Sutherland by the Princess Jane, his youngest fister; the crown was not in the gift, or disposal of the sovereign, and therefore no fuch transaction could have taken place, without the confent of the Parliament; nor can it be supposed that he, who had been twice guardian of the kingdom, possessing great power and riches, should quietly submit to such injustice, nor is there any record to be produced to prove this pretended difinheriting, or of any commotion in consequence of fuch an attempt; but fay the fabricators of the tale, Alexander's death put an effectual end to the project of giving away the crown from the legal heir; that difagreements might have arisen between them is casy to believe; David had a jealoufy and diffrust which generally is entertained against an heir presumptive, heightened by Robert's having been fo long the guardian of his kingdom; the High Steward on the other hand faid, that his right of fuccession was meanly bartered away by David, to the King of England, for the fake of eafing the former in having his ranfom remitted; it cannot therefore be wondered at, that animofities should arise between them. That some

King

Robert II.

jealousies subsisted is apparent, for in 1363, Robert renewed his sidelity, by an oath taken at Inclimurdach, and his right of fuccession was again acknowledged by the Parliament; and this too at a time when his hopes of ever possessing the throne were most likely to deceive him, for David had just then married a young wife, and was interesting heaven to grant him issue, by his pilgrimages to the most famous shrines and roods, not only in his own dominions, but in England; and by his liberality, he shewed how much he wished to revenge himfelf upon his nephew, by becoming a father; but neither the crumbling bones of faints and martyrs, nor the croffes of wood and stone would listen to the fervent prayers of the King, who quarrelled with the youthful Queen, and foon after died # on February 22, 1371, when the crown was unanimously adjudged to have descended to Robert; for it is impossible for a moment to suppose that the Earl of Douglas would have ventured to put in his claim, founded upon the superior right of the Baliols, to the Bruces, after the nation had to give the diadem to the latter, and in doing which had experienced every hardship; had such a plea been urged, it would

* It is evident that there can be no truth in the affertion that the High Steward was disinherited by King David from preference to his consin the Earl of Sutherland's son, because the Parliament was not so much as consulted, and if it had, we must suppose it would have rejected the proposition, as it would not listen to David's, respecting the King of England's fuccession; though the offers both to the kingdom at large, and to individuals, must have been very superior to any that could have been made by the heir of an Earl of Sutherland; but although some misunderstanding had been between the King and his nephew, yet it appears evident that if David did not love, he courted Robert upon his return from his captivity; for in 1359, he had a grant of the earldom of Strathern, and his eldest fon had also in the same year that of Athol conferred upon him; in 1363, the King gave to that young Prince the earldom of Carric, with the confent of the states assembled in Parliament; and that they deferved these essential marks of favor both from the sovereign, and the kingdom, the conduct of Robert whilst governor evinces, and especially as he did not hesitate to give his honor to furrender himself a prisoner to the English when called upon, and in 1358, to fatisfy them respecting the payment of King David's ransom, he put himself in the power of Edward III. as also did first his eldest, and then his second fon, and besides he greatly assisted in paying off the royal ransom.

PART II. SECT. I. King Robert II.

have been a reflection upon the people at large, for having spent its best blood and treasure in fecuring the succession to the Brucian branch of the blood royal, and of ingratitude both to the brave King Robert, and the High Steward his grandson, who under providence had fecured to the Scottish nation independency. Therefore instead of the least objection being made to his accession to the throne upon the decease of David, it is probable it was received with the utmost joy by the whole nation, except perhaps a few interested individuals who had been partizans of the Baliols, but who certainly would not dare to express their fentiments against the fenfe of the nation. Robert loft nothing of the character he had acquired whilft the first subject in the kingdom; he strove rather to ferve, than aftonish his people by a display of brilliant actions, that, whatever merit they may confer upon the fovereign, are fure to bring no folid advantages to the nation; he found his dominions torn by faction, and impoverished as much as possible, and the object to which a rich and powerful neighbour conflantly looked; he therefore turned his thoughts towards repairing the damages Scotland had fuffained by her domeflic and foreign wars. and to establish that due subordination to the laws, which in anarchy and confusion are generally forgotten; to weaken his enemy he renewed the French league, and took every opportunity to strengthen his own kingdom; by which means he restored Scotland to a tranquillity and importance it had never known fince the death of the heroic Robert I. his maternal grandfather, and firmly effablished the crown of an independent kingdom in his own family. Robert died after a profperous reign of nineteen years at the Castle of Dundonald upon the river Irvin, April 19th, 1390, in the feventy-fifth year of his age, and his remains were deposited in the abbey church of Scoon #.

^{*} The preceding kings of Scotland conftantly took the defign or pattern of their great feals from those of the English monarchs; Duncan is the first that is known to have had one. Robert II. probably borrowed the form of his second scal from France; it is peculiarly elegant; on one side he is represented seated upon a throne, treading upon two dragons; upon the other, he is given in armour on horseback;

PART II. SECT I.

Wives of K. Rob. II.

The Wives of King Robert II.

Robert when a young man was captivated by the beautiful Eliza- Elizabeth, the beth, daughter of Sir Adam Mure, of Rowalton; but though fome-Robert II. who what related to him, she was not in point of rank or fortune equal accession. to the heir of a crown; probably for that reason his uncle King David, he knew, would not have confented to the marriage; and as it was impossible for even distant relations at that time to marry without a dispensation from Rome, to wait for which required more patience than was confiftent with the violence of his passion; besides, too, it is not impossible, but he might dread an absolute refusal from his fovereign; he therefore prevailed upon his fair cousin to forfake her father's residence, and take up her abode in his Castle of Dundonald, whither they were privately married by Roger Mackadam, a priest as some affert, but it is not entirely clear; but probably both the lady and her father were fatisfied with Robert's honor in fulfilling all the rites of the church, for according to the laws then existing, until a dispensation came from Rome, she could not legally be his wife; how long it was before all the obstacles were removed to make the union lawful is unknown, it is however generally allowed that it was not until the birth of John, their eldest child; but it is certain that at length they were married according to the proper and prescribed forms then in being *; and by

the trees in the backg'round are beautiful; the inscription on both sides runs, Robertus. Dei Gratia Rex Scotorum.

He was the first of the Scotch kings that used any device; his was a coronet painted with two rows of glittering stars, and placed over a terrestrial globe, and for a motto, "Vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas."

* As an undeniable proof that King Robert was canonically married to Elizabeth, a charter has been produced, dated at Perth, January 24th, 1364, by which he, who is deferibed Steward of Scotland, and Earl of Strathern, endows a chapel in the:

PART II. SECT. I. Wives of K. Robert II. the cannon law this marriage legitimized all the children born prior to it. She died in the year 1358, fo that she never became Queen of Scotland; her remains were interred in the chapel of Paisley.

Queen Eupheme, the fecond wife of K. Robert II. The fecond wife of King Robert II. was Eupheme Rofs, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Strathern, and widow of John Randolph, Earl of Murray*, whom he married within lefs than two years

church of Glafgow, because, "William by the grace of God, bishop of Glafgow, "had been impowered and delegated by the Apostolic See to grant a dispensation "for a marriage between him and the deceased Elizabeth Mure, whilst she was "alive, the canonical impediments of consanguinity notwithstanding," to this charter are his own and his eldest son's seal, and it is witnessed by the abbot of Kylwynnyne and the Lord John, the brother of Robert. After giving this extract from the charter, other proofs of the canonical marriage are unnecessary; however, the original dispensation authorizing the marriage has lately been discovered in the archives of the Vatican.

* The time of Queen Eupheme's marriage was in, or prior to, 1375; for that year it appears by a curious record, dated at Perth, that an agreement was entered into between her, and David, Count Palatine of Strathern, and Earl of Caithness, on the one part; and Alexander de Moravia or Murray, of Drumfergoth on the other; by which it is covenanted that the latter shall marry the Lady Jannet of Monimusk, the Queen's fifter, and both her majesty and Lord Strathern oblige themselves to do all they can towards recovering him his patrimony, by procuring the opinion of lawyers, and this at their own proper charges and expences; the Queen agrees also to maintain her fifter for one or two years; and it is likewife stipulated that Walter Murray, the brother of Alexander, might, if he chose it, marry the eldest daughter of the faid Lady Jannet, who confequently was a widow; it was curious that one brother should think of marrying the mother, and the other the daughter: the birthright claimed by Alexander Murray, it is thought by my author, Guthrie, related either " to the earldom of Strathern, or to the estate of Bothwell, as he was a descendant of the regent Murray;" but surely the Earl of Strathern would not be a party to an instrument that militated against his interest in so material a point, as disputing the right to his earldom; I think him more ingenious in his observation that this record feems to prove that the Queens of Scotland, like those of England, had formerly a revenue appropriated to themselves. The timple manners of the times are very obvious; to many they would appear extremely extraordinary: but in rude ages, and where there were little specie, such circumstances often occur; what would now appear a fmall fum to a decent tradefman, was then confiderable even to the fovereign of a kingdom.

after the death of his former wife; she was also buried at Paisley. Eupheme's great feal is a copy of that of Isabel, the Queen of King Edward II. of England.

PART II. SECT. I. Wives of K. Rob. II.

Children of King Robert II. by Elizabeth his first wife, who died before his accession to the throne.

Younger children of K. Robert II. by Elibeth his first wife.

- 1. John who took the name of Robert III. when he succeeded to John, who had the Scottish diadem. See Part III. Section I.
 - the name of Ka Robert 111.
- 2. Robert, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland; of whom Robert, Duke of Albany, &c. and his descendants, see Part II. Section II. and III.
 - 3. Alexander, Earl of Buchan. See Part II. Section IV.
- 4. Elizabeth; fhe and her fifters were stiled ladies; and by their father after he became a fovereign they had no higher title; indeed, I have feen no other addition to their names than what was used to all the daughters of the Scotch noblemen; King Robert II. constantly calls them in his charters his beloved daughters. Lady Elizabeth married whilst the King her father was only Earl of Strathern, for which reason Dr. Abercrombie very naturally supposes her the eldest of his daughters; her husband was Sir Thomas Haya, now spelt Hay, Earl of Errol, son and heir of Sir David, the feventh Lord Errol, and constable of Scotland, who was flain at the battle of Durham, fought October 16th, 1345. The Earl of Errol was one of the first characters of that period: in 1353, he was appointed a commissioner to negotiate the freedom of King David II. who had been taken a prisoner by the English at the above battle; and when that fovereign had procured his liberty, he was one of those noble persons who were sent into England as hostages for the payment of his ransom; when he obtained his own liberation is not known, but it was before 1371, for in that year he

PART II.
SECT. 1.
Younger children of K.
Robert II. by
Elizabeth his
furst wife.

prefided as High Constable of Scotland, in the Parliament when the fuccession to the crown was declared to be vested in his brother-in-law, John, Earl of Carric, the eldest son of King Robert II. The French monarch having sent into Scotland 40,000 franks to be distributed amongst the greatest and most powerful of the Scots, in gratitude for the services the Scottish forces had rendered him in stopping the career of the English victories; this sum at that time, a very great one, was divided between the sovereign, and such who were of most consequence in the state; this Earl received 400 franks; and in 1378, he procured his lands to be united into one barony: he died at an advanced age in 1406, having had two sons and two daughters by this daughter of King Robert II. From the eldest of the sons, descended the Hays, Earls of Errol, hereditary High Constable of Scotland, which honors have been carried into other noble families by females.

Marjory, married to John Dunbar, Earl of March.

5. Marjory, another daughter of King Robert II. was married to John Dunbar, fecond fon of the Earl of March. The fovereign his father-in-law, by his charter under the great feal in 1372, granted to his "beloved fon, John Dunbar, and Marjory his " fpouse, his dearest daughter, and the heirs procreate, or to be " procreate betwixt them, the earldom of Murray," and in default of iffue, to George, Earl of March, and his heirs general. A flanderous author fays this grant was a recompence for the Lady Marjory's " lost virginity," but no proof is brought to substantiate the affertion, therefore it is probable that there may be no authority for this fcandal. In 1376, his Lordship obtained another charter of all the lands in the thaneship of Kintore; and in the years 1383 and 1385, also others for various lands and baronies. He was appointed in 1381, to treat with the English about a peace, for which he had a paffport; he was also a guarantee of a treaty concluded with that nation in 1300; foon after which he died. The iffue of this marriage was two fons and a daughter: the title of Murray continued in the male line for feveral descents; but Mary (though the fecond and youngest) daughter of James, Earl of

Murray took that earldom to Archibald, third fon of James, feventh Earl of Douglas; but he dying in the field of battle fighting against his fovereign in 1456, the title was forfeited, and, after lying dren of K. dormant a long time, James IV. granted it to one of his natural Rob. II. by fons.

PART II SECT. I. Younger chilfirst wife.

6. Jane married to Sir John Lyon, called from the fairness of Jane, married first to John his complexion the "white Lyon:" he was fon and heir of Sir Lyon, Great Chamberlain John Lyon, who for his important services to King Robert I. and of Scotland, King David II. obtained feveral lands and baronies in the counties of to Sir James Perth and Aberdeen; but it must be confessed that this his fon Lord Calder. was not either by birth or fortune authorized to have aspired to the marriage of a daughter of his fovereign; but the elegance of his manners joined to a good understanding extremely improved by education, and an application that is feldom discoverable in youth, raised him to the highest honors of the state, and these led to this splendid alliance. He first served King Robert II. as his clerk and fecretary, and for his fidelity in that office he received a grant of lands of a confiderable value, which bears date March 28th, in the fecond year of that reign; and this was confirmed to him by another charter dated January 7th, 1374, given him by John, Earl of Carric, Robert, Earl of Fife, and Alexander, Lord of Bradenock, the three eldest sons of the King, who expressed that they did it as a recompence for his great fidelity, and constant attention to their fervices, that neither they, nor their heirs, should ever revoke the gift, but, on the contrary, do all they could to strengthen it whenfoever required, and protect him as much as possible. Soon afterwards the monarch conferred upon him the honor of knighthood, that " he might be the better qualified for the royal alli-" ance;" and as " a farther recompence" for his past services, he obtained the hand of his fovereign's daughter, and the barony of Kinghorn in the name of a gift, as the charter expresses it; but it feems to me, to have been the bridal fortune, for money at that time was too scarce to be parted with, and therefore lands were generally given with daughters, as the history of our own early

PART II SECT. I. Younger children of K. Rob. II. by Elizabeth his first wife,

kings evince. As a perpetual remembrance of this splendid alliance, he had an augmentation to his paternal arms, argent a lion rampant, azure, armed and langued gules, a double treffure counter flewry of the first; and for a crest, on a wreath a lady to the girdle, holding in her right hand a royal thiftle, inclosed with a circle of laurel. Some time after his nuptials, he was raifed to the high office of Great Chamberlain of Scotland, which was taken from Mr. Biggar, Rector of Errol in 1378, probably, purposely to add honor and consequence to the fon-in-law of the King. In 1382, he went into England with the title of ambassador, and was allowed a fafe conduct for himself, with permission to take with him a retinue of forty horsemen. Upon his return into Scotland he was killed at a place called the Moss of Balhal, some fay in a duel, others by a furprizal, but he certainly fell by the hand of Sir James Lindfay, Lord Crawford, whose mother Egidia, was the daughter of Walter, Lord High Steward of Scotland, and Marjory, daughter of King Robert I. fo that he was a near relation both to the fovereign, and to this unhappy nobleman by marriage; what raifed the passion of Lord Crawford against him is not known; fome have supposed it to have arisen from envy in feeing such a vast accession of honor, power, and riches fall to the lot of one, he thought inferior to himself in family, and could not brook his nearer alliance with the blood royal than himfelf could boast; others have thought this violent hatred arose from difgust, as he is said not to have borne his prosperity with that humility his enemies expected: but however his death happened, or from whatever cause, it was a severe loss to his country and his Prince; the latter lamented his fate with the greatest concern, ordering his body to be conveyed to the abbey church of Scoon, where he intended his own to be laid; and he was so exasperated at the outrage, that though Lord Crawford was his nephew, and private affaffination by no means rare at that period, and feldom capitally punished, yet it was long before he could obtain his pardon. To farther declare his regard for the memory of the deceased, and to his family, he took John, the infant Lord Glamis, his grandfon,

under his immediate protection, forbidding any to injure either his person, or property, under pain of his highest displeasure. The family of Lyon descended from this King's daughter, still con-Younger children of K tinues in Scotland with great honor; for besides several conside-Rob. II. by rable families, the eldest branch is still ennobled, and has been in-first wife. creafed in rank; for Patrick the eleventh Lord Glamis, obtained the earldom of Kinghorn, and his grandfon also that of Strathmore, which are both enjoyed by his heir male; the prefent Peer bearing those titles.

PART II. SECT. I.

The Lady Jane, left early a widow, foon found in her father's court another husband in the person of Sir James Sandilands, fecond Baron of Calder; he was of illustrious descent; for Sir James his father, Laird of Sandilands and Whislon, married Eleanor, only daughter of Alexander, Earl of Carric, natural fon of Edward Bruce, brother of King Robert I. by whom he had this young nobleman; and who, in his mother's right, possessed the barony of West-Calder, or Calder Comitis, and was knighted by King Robert II. who no doubt confented to his marriage. The iffue of this fecond union was one child, a fon, Sir James Sandilands, third Baron of Calder, who was one of the hostages given as a security for the payment of the fum due to the English, contracted by King James, whilst he was detained by them: one of his descendants obtained the barony of Torpichen from Queen Mary, and which is still possessed by the heir male of this family.

7. Catherine, married to Sir David Lindfay, Lord Crawford, Catherine, maiand Glenesk, created by his father-in-law King Robert III. in vid Lindsay, 1398, Earl of Crawford; he was coufin and heir of that nobleman created Earl of who killed Lord Lyon, the husband of her fifter; his Lordship Crawford. was in great favor with King Robert II. and also with King Robert III. from the former he obtained grants of lands in various parts of the kingdom, and also an annuity of 40l. sterling issuing out of the great customs of Aberdeen; most of the estates he received were entailed upon his brothers, and their heirs male, his

Younger children of K.
Rob. 11. by
Elizabeth his
first wife.

own failing; and in all these charters he is stilled by those potentates, beloved fon, or brother. He was named a commissioner appointed to treat with the English in 1404, and their monarch granted a fafe conduct for himself and one hundred horsemen; in 1406, he was fent to that court as ambaffador extraordinary, but he did not long survive this latter embassy, dying in 1412. The issue of this marriage was five fons and two daughters; 1. William the progenitor of many Earls of Crawford, one of whom, for life only, was created by King James IV. Duke of Montrole; but Lodowic, the loval Earl of Crawford, having no male iffue, and being kept a prisoner by the oppofers of his fovereign, King Charles I. he was prevailed upon to furrender up the earldom to the Earl of Lindsay, then Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and who was in great favor with the victorious party. 2. David, called of Lindfay; 3. William, feated at Cairny; of neither of whom is any thing memorable known. 4. Ingram, who became bishop of Aberdeen. 5. Bernard, who fell in the battle of Verneuil in France in 1424. 6. Matilda, married to Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and Duke of Turenne in France, and a marshal of that kingdom; and 7. Elizabeth, who became the wife of Sir William Douglas of Lochlevin. It must also be remarked that from the descendants of the male line, besides the old Earls of Crawford, various branches still remain of the name, as the Earls of Balcarras, the Crawfords of Evelick, and fome in Germany. The Scotch Barons of Spanizie also of that furname, but now extinct, were likewise male descendants of Catherine, daughter of King Robert II.

Margaret, married to John de Yle, Lord of the Isles.

8. Margaret, married to John de Yle, the feventh Lord of the Isles, descended from Somerled, King of the Isles; he inherited much of the turbulence of his ancestors, and for some time was a partizan of the Baliols, acknowledging Edward Baliol as his sovereign, bribed probably by the considerable grants he received from him: and to make himself still more formidable to the Scottish nation, he obtained in 1337, a safe conduct to visit England, and in 1353 he concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with King

Edward III. as if he had been, what he laid claim to, a free and independant fovereign prince: but when the kingdom of Scotland became fettled after the return of King David II. from France, he submitted Younger children of K. to own him as the rightful fovereign of Scotland; and what was Rob. II. by extraordinary, he offered himself as one of the hostages to the En. first wife. glish for the payment of King David II.'s ransom. During the reign of Robert II. he was extremely attentive to behave as a dutiful fubject: nothing certainly could be better policy in that potentate, than detaching him from the English, and winning him to the interests of Scotland, by giving him his daughter; and he was fo well affured of his allegiance, that he added still more to the dangerous pre-eminence which his ancestors had attained, for he gave him grants of feveral confiderable demefnes that incontestably made him the most powerful chieftain holding of the Scottish crown. By the Princess he had three sons and two daughters, all of whom left children; Donald, the eldest son, was Lord of the Isles; he revolted because he had not the earldom of Ross conferred upon him. as he judged he had an equitable claim, but was defeated at Harlaw by the gallant Prince, Alexander, Earl of Mar, as will be particularly noticed a infubsequent page: that earldon, however, went to the fon of Donald; but the family loft it in the reign of King James III. as they did the Lordship of the Isles in that of James IV. From the fecond fon descended the Macdonalds, Earls of Antrim in Ireland; and several private families of that surname in Scotland also owe their origin to him, and the youngest son.

Children of King Robert II. by Queen Eupheme.

- 9. David, Earl of Strathern; of whom fee Part II. Section V.
- 10. Walter, Earl of Athol; of whom see Part II. Sect. VI.
- 11. Isabel, generally called by historians Eupheme, but the Mar; and adly, to Sir I. Edrecords of the kingdom evince that the former was her name. She mondon, Kt.

Children of K. Robert II. by Q. Eupheme, his secondwife. David, Earl of Strathein. Walter, Earl of Athol. Isabel married

to James Earl of Douglas and SECT. 1.

was first married to James, Earl of Douglas and Mar, one of the most gallant men of the age; he loft his life, when victorious, in the ever-me-Rob. II, by Q. morable battle of Otterburn, July 31, 1388. The only child of Eupheme. this marriage died an infant, fo that the earldom of Douglas went to his half-brother Archibald, but that of Mar, with the lordship of Garrioch, and other possessions, devolved upon Isabel, his fifter of the whole blood, who married Sir Alexander Stuart, fon of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, fourth fon of King Robert II. There is not the most distant reason to suppose what some authors affirm, that the Earl of Douglas and Mar's father ever claimed the crown of Scotland upon the death of King David II. as there could not have been the least shadow of right to support his pretentions; yet they have faid that this marriage with a daughter of King Robert II. with his fon, was made to induce him to relinquish his claim, to unite the interest of the Douglas' with the royal house of Stuart, and to gain fo very estimable a character as Earl James to support the royal authority, much injured by the fupineness of the former fovereign.

> The lady Isabel re-married to Sir John Edmonston, Knight, but whether she had any iffue by him, or whether she survived him, is not certain; it is a most fingular circumstance that so very little is known of her, or her fifters, though daughters of a king; but ladies of the highest rank at that period passed from the gloomy mansion of the father, brother, or other near relation to that of their husbands, where they lived unnoticed and unknown by any, but the retainers or dependants of their haughty lords. As all the daughters of King Robert II. married subjects, and he had fo many of them, most of the ennobled, and many families of the gentry of Scotland descend from him.

PART II. SECT. I.

Illegitimate children of King Robert II. by his beloved mistress, whose furname was More or Moran.

- 1. Sir John Stuart, called the "Black Stuart," to whom his The illegitifather gave the hereditary office of sheriff of the Island of Bute, Robert II. which had been the ancient patrimony of the royal family when art, called the subjects, and the same post in that of Arran, with some grants of Black. lands, all of which were confirmed to him by Robert III. by his charter dated November 11, 1400; he also received from the regent, Robert, Duke of Albany, a charter dated at Irvine, January 1, 1418, of the lands of Hynock in the barony of Renfrew; in these charters he is called both by the king and the regent "beloved "brother;" no impropriety was then supposed, by openly owning their nearest illegitimate relations; there was very little difference made on that account by the father, who almost constantly gave the natural children the furname of the family. Sir John married Jean, daughter of Sir John Temple of Elieston, ancestor of the noble family of that name. The Stuarts, Earls of Bute, are defcended from this marriage.
- 2. Sir John Stuart, called the "Red Stuart," feated at Dundo-Sir John Stunald and Beverley; he was cruelly put to death May 3, 1425, by Red. James, third fon of Murdoch, Duke of Albany.
 - 3. Thomas Stuart, who was elected bishop of St. Andrews.

Thomas Stuart, bishop of St. Andrews.

Illegitimate children of King-Robert II. by Marion de Carney.

4. John Stuart of Knilevin; it is observeable that he was the John Stuart of fourth son of King Robert of the name of John: two even by the Knivelin, same mother are often seen later than this period, but seldom so

PART II. SECT. I. ~ The illegitimate iffue of K. Rob. 11.

many as four; it might have been thought that the reason why the eldest son of King Robert born in marriage, should change his name from John to Robert, was from dislike to be one of the several "Johns" of his father, had he not chose one that was borne by another of his brothers.

James Stuart. of Kinfanns.

5. James Stuart of Kinfanns.

Alex. Stuart of Lunen.

6. Alexander Stuart of Lunen.

An illegitimate child of King Robert II. but by whom is unknown.

Giles or Agide, Lord Nithfdale

7. Giles, or Agide, who married, in 1386 or 1387, to William liam Douglas, Douglas, called Regidio, created upon their marriage Lord Nithfdale, which title was limited to their legitimate iffue: but neither of themselves were born in wedlock, for he was the natural fon of Archibald, Earl of Douglas; however in heroic exploits he was inferior to none of his name, and few were superior either in perfonal or mental qualities. Europe acknowledged him her bravest, and most gallant Knight; England, Ireland, Man, with several parts of the continent, witneffed his prowefs; and especially the infidels who inhabited Prussia, against whom he fought under the banners of the Knights of the Teutonic order, who then were the professed enemies of those unfortunate people, that had the dreadful alternative of relinquishing a religion they were bred in, to espouse one they did not understand, and to become the subjects of these cruel converters of others to the meek tenets of the divine Jesus, to quit their country, or bravely dye their native plains with their blood; but fuch were the false ideas entertained by Christians. The fuccess of his arms procured him many foreign titles, and placed him at the head of the Teutonic fleet; fo distinguished a post gave offence to Lord Clifford, an English nobleman, who envying him his promotion, fent him a challenge, but previous to the day of combat, meanly procured his affaffination. He

left a daughter who married Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, but fhe did not inherit her father's lands, nor the titles he was honored with by the fovereigns he had ferved. This daughter of King Ro- The illegition of the fovereigns he had ferved. bert II. is by Dr. Abercrombie, thought to have been legitimate, K. Rob. II. but as all other respectable historians say otherwise, it is reasonable to suppose she was not born in wedlock, as to her being stiled his most "dear daughter" in his charters, it is no proof that she was born of either of his wives, for he used the same tender epithet to his natural children. Of the royal issue born in marriage, it was faid they were either of peaceable and benevolent characters, or exactly opposite, violent, and guilty of the greatest excesses; and that his natural fons were

PART II.

Prodiga natura bastardis dat tria jura, Aut sunt pomposi, fures, aut luxuriosa.

PART II. SECT. II.

PART 11.

SECT. II.

Robert, Duke ROBERT, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, fecond fon of of Albany, go. NOBERT, Duke of Albany, gorenor of Scot-vernor of Scot-land. (econd King Robert II. was born about the year 1339; his education was land, fecond King Kobert II. was boild about the job land, fer for he eclipfed for of K. Ro-- well attended to, and his proficiency answerable, for he eclipfed here II. all the contemporary princes of his family in those qualities that can obtain, or fecure power, and he availed himself of these advantages. Before his father's accession to the throne he had procured the earldom of Monteith by marriage, and foon after the crown had devolved upon that fovereign, Isabel, the Countess of Fife, the widow of this fon, furrendered up that title to him, actuated to it, fays charter, which bears date the last day of March 1371, because he was heir apparent according to a remainder created by his father Duncan, Earl of Fife, to Alan, Earl of Monteith, grandfather of the Lady Margaret, this Prince's then wife, as also by a settlement in his favour made by her, and her late husband his son; and it also specifies as a reason why she refigned Fife to him, because he had recovered it when she was from force and fear near giving it up, and therefore, probably fhe thought it impossible to retain it herself; it must be owned the grant has a suspicious appearance of having been procured by specious, ratherthan just claims; though an annuity of 140l, sterling was reserved out of the revenues of the earldom for her maintenance. was fo pleafed with the acquifition of this great fief, that he constantly placed it in his titles before Monteith, and the posfessing two such considerable domains must have greatly contributed to raise him to the first consequence in Scotland, especially as in 1383, he obtained from his royal father the important office of Great Chamberlain of Scotland, vacant by the death of his

brother-in-law, Sir John Lyon, Lord Glamis; this he held until PART II. the year 1408, when he refigned it unto his fon the Earl of Buchan. In 1385, he was so powerful that 3000 of the 50,000 Robert, Duke francs fent by the French to be distributed in the Scottish court were vernor of Scotland, second allotted to him, and he became foon after the most eminent of any fon of K. Robert II. of the blood royal about his father's throne; for both King Robert from age, and the elder Prince from lameness, were incapable of managing the affairs of the kingdom, when vigor of body was necessary to be united to that of the mind; therefore he was placed at the head of the administration, though not as some writers relate, made regent: the nation had reason to be pleased with this preference, for in 1387, he returned from England, then at war with Scotland, laden with the spoils of Westmoreland and Northumberland, by which he enriched himself and a gallant army composed of the first nobility of the kingdom; and when the Irish had committed fome depredations upon the coast of Scotland, he was fent to make reprifals; his ambition was fired with the hopes of the Irish crown which his relation Edward Bruce was fo nearly poffeffing; but weak as the English government was, he found it impossible to do more than take an ample revenge for their conduct, which was more refented, because the Scotch had always regarded the Irish as descended from the same origin; the fituation of Scotland too demanded his presence, as it was requifite that another army should be led into England; thither therefore he hasted, and heading a sufficient force he braved the English warden of the marches, who durst not quit his entrenchments, though he faw him plunder the adjacent country; happily for the British nations, a peace was procured in the following year by the management of the Duke of Lancaster, who did it to prevent hostilities extending to the dominions of his two royal fons-in-law, the Kings of Castile and Portugal.

Upon the accession of his brother King Robert III. he still retained his power, continuing during the whole of his reign to guide the helm of the state, for under the name of chief minister

PART II. SECT. II. Robert, Duke land, fecond fon of K. Robert 11.

he had all the real power of the crown; he was joined with the Prince of Scotland, his nephews, and others, in a commission to fettle the terms of a truce with England, which were agreed to be of Albany, go. lettle the terms of a trock state of a year; and fo pleafing was vernor of Scot-prolonged from March 16, 1398, for a year; and fo pleafing was this to the Scottish monarch, that April 28th following, he raised him to the title of Duke of Albany; this was intirely honorary, for no fuch place, much less any territory, is of that name in this northern kingdom; fome have fupposed, that by Albany was expreffed the country of the Guidels or ancient Caledonians; others that Scotland itself was meant: I cannot think, but that it was fomething like our dukedom of Clarence, which a little time before had been created by King Edward III. in favor of one of his fons. Robert's ambition, however, was far superior to this high dignity; he faw his eldest brother's fons with envy, as knowing that the crown awaited them in preference to himself; and envy is not far removed from hatred; the younger fon was a child, the eldest was brave, open in his temper, and imprudent in his conduct; Robert took advantage of these youthful indifcretions of the heir apparent, and procured him to be placed in his hands, whence it is generally supposed he fell a victim to his insatiable ambition; and James, his brother, then the only obstacle that could have prevented his obtaining the regal honors, would have met a death equally premature, had not the aged monarch his father fent him out of the kingdom, under the pretence of his receiving a better education in France than he could have had in his native country; but the young Prince was, contrary to treaties, detained in England, whither he had either been by accident driven, or landed to recruit his strength, exhausted by the fickness his voyage had occasioned; however, from whatever cause it happened, his parent bending beneath the weight of years, of fickness, and forrow for the loss of one, funk to rest when bereaved of the surviving son, and Robert faw himself in the actual possession of the kingdom; yet he had the moderation to be contented with the title of governor only; but though obliged to recognize the right of James, his captive mephew, to the fuccession, he frustrated every attempt by negotiation to have him restored to the throne, flattering himself that James PART II. might die unmarried in captivity, in which cafe the crown would defected to him or his offspring, and he had tafted too much the Robert, Duke fweets of governing to be easily reconciled to parting with his power, vernor of Scotand fubject himself to the authority of a young Prince, who could for of K. Ronever regard him but with jealoufy, and would probably ferutinize all his actions, especially the concern he had in the death of his brother, the Duke of Rothsay. These motives were more than sufficient to prevent the King's return; however, he kept up a decency of appearance in pretending that he was defirous of obtaining it; in 1413, he fent no less than three different embassies to the English court under a shew of effecting it, one in April, another in July, and the third in December; but when it was refused, it occasioned no breach between the two nations, and the truce was renewed from time to time; James was a pledge to Henry that the governor should keep Scotland quiet, and afford no affiltance to his subjects, especially as those in the northern part of his kingdom were ill affected to his usurped government; had Robert been refractory, his power would have been in a moment annihilated by the restoration of his fovereign; however, he chose to have something of a pledge against Henry, for he afforded an asylum to an Englishman who pretended to be the deposed Richard II. whom he resembled in person, and who was entertained in Scotland to his death, which happened about the time of Albany's. So that though from the animofity and rancor that the people of both nations had to each other, and which they every now and then shewed, by some inroads at the expiration of each truce, yet peace was preferred between the British courts, not only during the remainder of the reign of King Henry IV. but through a great part of that of his fon and fuccessor; however, at length he sent two of his sons to sustain the feeble cause of the dauphin, but whether he did this from a real patriotic motive, or as unwilling to fee France, the ancient and great ally of Scotland, fall, or was compelled to it by the general and just alarm of the Scottish nation, is impossible to determine. He did not long furvive this transaction; but worn out with length of days, he

PART II. SECT. 11. vernor of Scotland, fecond fon of K. Robert II.

died in the Castle of Sterling September 3, 1419, more than eighty years of age, in the full possession of all his senses, after receiving Robert. Duke of Albany, go. the facrament, and fuch other rites of the church as were then practiced. His remains were interred in the abbey church of Dumfirmling, between the choir and the chapel of the bleffed virgin, with a folemnity fuitable to his illustrious birth and exalted station; upon his tomb was this infcription:

> Jura tuens, et pacis amans, et maximus armis, Robertus primus, dux in Albania summus Gratia naturæ speculum, quo vera refulcit Justicia, et quicquid in principe mundus ador at Occidit, et pariter decus et pax, Scotia, totus Excidit, Roberto custode rebus adempto, Anno Milleno quater CX. que noveno Ejusdem flamen cum Christo quadeat.

No praise would have been too much for this Prince, could his conduct to his brother King Robert III. and the fons of that fovereign be forgotten; the ambition of gaining a crown alone instigated him to the unpardonable behaviour they experienced from him, but his object was loft, and he entailed upon his own family the misfortunes he had brought upon the others; however, he grasped the fceptre, which he held to his death; and from the manner of his fwaying it, even in his most advanced age, it may be presumed that he would have been a most excellent sovereign; just in his domestic government, provident and active as a general; usually successful in war, even when his forces were inferior in numbers to the enemy. He might be faid to have ruled Scotland for at least half a century as prime minister, or governor of the kingdom, and with fo justly admired a reputation as to be respected by all Europe, and feared and obeyed by the nation he prefided over; though fubmiffion to authority was not then the characteristic of the Scottish nation, whose great Barons seldom stood in awe of even regal power; and it must be remarked to his honor, that at no time was Scotland in

a more critical fituation than whilft he prefided at the helm, as PARTIL either aged infirm princes fat upon the throne, or the fovereign was a captive in the hands of her most powerful enemies, yet never of Albany, godid she exert heiself so much in assisting her allies; and France at vernor of Scotthis period might be justly said to owe her political existence to fon of K. Robert 11. the affiftance the received from him, more than to her own exertions. Robert in a most eminent degree possessed all the qualities of a great mind, his conciliating manner won him very many friends, and his condescending affability retained their regard; his munificence and hospitality made the people love him; and foreigners left Scotland justly praising the liberality and attention with which they had been treated. It is impossible which most to praise, his fortitude, justice, temperance, bravery, or unwearied application. He was tall and elegant, excelled in all the accomplishments then known; this made him the pride and emulation of the young, and the greatness of his wisdom rendered him respectable to all in his declining years, when his long flowing beard, whitened with age, gave him a most venerable appearance. His loss was feverely regretted by the Scotch, who knew not the character of their deftined monarch, and had no high idea of Murdoch their governor. Robert, during the time he ruled Scotland, after the death of his eldest brother, stiled himself "by the grace of God, son to the King " of Scotland, Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife and Monteith, and " governor of the kingdom of Scotland," and his fovereign, only " James Stuart, who stiles himself King of Scotland," and the liberal manner in which he granted titles and effates shewed he looked upon himself, as he wished others to think him, more than the representative of his nephew. Robert's great seal as governor of Scotland is very much like that of King Edward III.; on one fide of the throne is a shield of the arms of Scotland, on the other, a shield of four pieces, first and fourth a lion rampant; the second and third a fesse checky; the reverse of the seal is the same as that of King Henry V. of England, except this has a running pattern of trees or shrubs: the inscription on both sides, " Sigillum Roberti

PARTII. SECT. II.

ducis Albanic gubernatoris Scocie." It is wonderful that he and his fon Murdoch did not coin money in their own names.

Wives of Rob. Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, fon of K. Robert II.

This regent married twice; first Margaret, grandchild and sole heir of Alan, Earl of Monteith; and secondly, Muriella, daughter of Sir William, Lord Keith, Marishal of Scotland; by the former he had seven, by the latter two children.

Younger children of the first marriage of Robert, Duke of Albany. Murdoch, Duke of Albany. Issue of Robert, Duke of Albany, by Margaret his first wife.

1. Murdoch Duke of Albany, and governor of Scotland, of whom in the next Section.

Sir Andrew Stuart. 2. Sir Andrew Stuart, who left no issue.

Ifabel, married to Alexander, Earl of Rofs, and to Sir Walter Halliburton, Lord of the Isles.

- 3. Isabel, who martied first to Alexander Lesly, Earl of Ross, maternally descended from Matilda, sister of King Rob et l. Eupheme, the only child of this marriage, owing to her defenity, became a nun in a monastery in North-Berwic, and surrendered up her earldom to John, Earl of Buchan, a son of this Robert, Duke of Albany, in prejudice of Donald, Lord of the Isles, the legal heir, which caused the most dangerous civil war Scotland ever knew. The second husband of Isabel was Sir Walter Halliburton, Lord of Dirlton, by whom she lest issue.
- Reatriv, marred to Sir James Douglas, Lord of Balveny,
 red to Sir James Lord of Evandale, and by the death
 of Douglas.
- Marjory, married to Sir Duncan Campbel, created Lord Campbel.
- 5. Marjory, who was the first wife of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, deservedly created by King James II. in 1445, Lord Campbel; he is ancestor of the Duke of Argyle, Earls of Breadalbane, and of many other branches of the surname of Campbel.

6. Elizabeth, married to Sir Malcolm Fleming, Lord of Biggar and PART II. Cumbernauld, knighted by King Robert III. appointed a commiffioner to attempt the freedom of his fovereign King James, I. and Elizabeth, marone of the hostages for the debt due to the English, and which Lord of Biggar, was stipulated to be paid upon that monarch's return into Scotland: from his connection with the Dukes of Albany, the governors, he was suspected of disaffection to the person of King James; he was therefore imprisoned and tried for treason; but his innocence appearing, he was honorably acquitted; yet afterwards joining with the Earl of Douglas, it involved him in ruin: for accepting the treacherous invitation to Edinburgh Castle, sent him by the Chancellor Crichton, he was publicly executed November 20, 1441, without any trial, a circumstance too common at that period, not only in Scotland, but in other parts of Europe; the lords Fleming derive their descent from this marriage, the fixth of that title obtained the earldom of Wigton to be revived in this family.

7. Margaret, married to Sir Robert Stuart, second Lord of Lorn Margaret, manand Innermeath, who was also a commissioner employed to effect bert Staart. the liberation of King James I. and likewise one of the hostages given as a fecurity for the money he owed the English for his maintenance whilst detained by them. The issue of this marriage became memorable from Sir James the fecond fon's marrying a widow of Scotland, who was a Princess of England, as will be seen when we come to the reign of King James I.

The iffue of Robert, Duke of Albany, by his second marriage.

Children of the fecond marriage of Robert, Duke of

8. John Stuart, Earl of Buchan, was born about the year 1380, Albany. and obtained from his father the lordship of Coule, of which Earlot Buchan. place in 1406, he wrote himself, and in that year he was appointed, with several of the family of Douglas, an hostage for the freedom of the Earl of Douglas, then a prisoner in the hands of the English, where he had continued ever fince the memorable battle

PART II. SECT. 11. fecond mar-Duke of Albany.

of Shrewsbury, fought in 1401; but as the treaty was not effective. he was not sent into England. When the Duke his father obtained Children of the the government of Scotland, he refigned to him the barony of riage of Robert, Buchan, and also the office of Great Chamberlain of the kingdom; the letters patent for the latter are dated at Perth, March 11. 1406. Sir William Keith and his lady, Margaret Fraser, his maternal grandfather and grandmother, also, by their charter, bearing date May 3, 1407, granted to him and his heirs the lands of Touch; and the sheriffdom of the county of Stirling, with the remainder to his half brother Robert, and in failure of heirs of him, to the grantor, and his heirs. The regent also raised him to the earldom of Buchan; and by perfuading the Countefs of Rofs, who was deformed, and feeluded on that account in a nunnery, to furrender that title, he wrote himself Earl of Ross and Buchan; but as Donald, Lord of the Isles, claimed Ross, and the estates appendant upon it, he was obliged to refign that great fief to him. It is fingular that he never was fent an hostage into England, for he was not only named one for the return of the Earl of Douglas, as has been mentioned, but also twice was he appointed in two treaties to be given in exchange for his eldest brother Murdoch, and in 1416, as an hostage with others to procure the return of his sovereign King James I.; but as none of the treaties in which he was mentioned took effect, he escaped a tedious captivity, and was enabled to ferve his country in a more active way, for he had the command of the forces raifed in 1419, to be fent into France to oppose the English, who then threatened the ruin of the royal house of Valois; the army confisted of 7000 men, composed of the first and bravest of the Scotch; the most conspicuous of them after the general, were his brother Robert, Archibald, Earl of Wigton, fon to the Earl of Douglas, Sir Alexander Lindfay, brother to the Earl of Crawford, and Sir Thomas Swinton: it is inconceivable what advantages the despairing dauphin derived from this body of gallant men; a check was given almost instantly to the arms of the heroic Henry V. for the Scotch fecured fome provinces, and prevented the defection of others; the greatest service he rendered

the French was in gaining the battle of Baugé in Anjou, a place of PARTIL. much importance, and which the Duke of Clarence in the absence of his brother King Henry had determined to obtain, but which Children of the the Earl of Buchan was resolved to defend; for that purpose cal-tiage of Ro-bert, Duke ling in the parties under the command of the Earl of Wigton, and of Albany. La Hire, a native of France, he encamped within four miles of the town, in which they intended to keep the festival of Easter; the Duke finding them upon their guard, marched to Beaufort, fome little diftance from Baugé, flattering himself he might furprize the enemy; but he suspecting the intention of the English, fent his relation, Sir John Stuart of Darnley, with a few choice horsemen to watch the Duke's movements; but they falling into the main army, with the utmost difficulty effected their retreat to their own camp. Inftantly this provident commander fent Stuart of Railstone with a small detachment to seize a bridge that was built over the rapid deep river, that bore the fame name with the town which was built upon its banks; whilft the Duke was contending for this important pass, Kennedy, with 200 of his countrymen, reinforced Stuart, and, together, made a most vigorous resistance, and gave time to their general to make due preparations for receiving the English in a field close to the town. Stuart's party however was broken, and the Duke of Clarence purfued the Scots under his command; but in the heat of his ardor he forgot prudence, for falling into the advanced guard of the Earl of Buchan, it is probable he had not time to form his army, for they confifled only of 200 men; but they were resolute, and fresh; they therefore set upon the English with vast advantage, fingling out individuals either to kill or take prisoners. Sir Thomas Swinton attacked the ill-fated Clarence, and wounded him in the face with his lance, when the Earl of Buchan beat him down with a large mace he carried in his hand, and he never rose again; by this time the battle became general; the English fought to revenge the death of their Prince, the Scotch to improve their advantage, and victory declared in their favor; at least 1600 of the English lay dead, amongst whom were the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Kent, and Lords Roos

PART II. SECT. II. Children of the fecond marriage of Robert, Duke of Albany.

and Grey of Codnor; the chief of the prisoners were the Earl of Somerfet (taken by Laurence Vernor, a Scotch gentleman, afterwards knighted,) Lord Thomas his brother, the Earl of Strafford, the Earl of Huntingdon, taken by Sir John Lyon, Count Perche in France: and the Lord Fitz-Walter, who furrendered to Henry Cunningham; the spoils must have greatly assisted to enrich the Scotch army; for besides the ransom due for prisoners, many costly jewels fell into their hands, especially the rich diadem of the Duke of Clarence, which was gained by Sir Alexander Maccas, Laird of Lenox, who took it from his head, and fold it to Sir John Stuart of Darnley for 1000 angels of gold; Sir John put it into the hands of Robert Huft, as a pledge for the repayment of 5000 angels he owed him. The lofs of the Scotch in this battle was incredibly fmall: perhaps nothing ever was more feafonable to France than this victory. Pope Martin V. when he heard of it, faid, that "the Scots had always been excellent anti-" dotes to the English." I cannot but think that the loss of a brother, whom Henry tenderly loved, and whose fate he fincerely deplored, occasioned his having such an entire hatred to the Scots, that ever after he gave them no quarter, under pretence that they were rebels to their king, whom he had with him, though James was well known to be forceibly detained. Charles, the dauphin, was so highly pleased with the conduct of the Earl of Buchan, that he gave him the office of Lord High Constable of France, Count d'Evereux, and Seigneur of Coneressault; and, at the same time, he received an honorable augmentation to his arms; this was the more pleafing to him, as the French had been extremely ungrateful to the Scots, calling them, from their more generous manner of living, "guzzlers of wine and mutton." Upon his return to Scotland, he was received with the affection and regard that he merited, both by the regent his father, and by the people. The cause of his going to his native land was to finish the treaty of marriage between him and the Earl of Douglas's daughter, and to obtain a supply to augment the Gallic army, both of which he attained; for he gained the lady, and took with him into France the 8000

men asked for; and, as an affistant in the cause, he won his father- PART II. in-law, who failed over with himself at the head of 5000 retainers and friends, with another of his sons, in the room of the Earl of fecond mar-Wigton, who remained in Scotland, owing to an indisposition; but riage of Rothese forces were less serviceable than they would have been, had of Albany. Charles, now become King, given them more power; for, perhaps, fearful of feeming to favor foreigners too much, he placed over them Marishal Severac, who commanded only raw and undisciplined troops, fo that all the duty lay upon the well-ordered Scots, who, though they performed miracles of the most consummate courage, were defeated in 1423, at Crevante, upon the river Younne, fix miles above Auxerre, by that great warrior the Earl of Salifbury, with the loss of 1200 of the Scots, and the captivity of himself and Stuart d'Aubigny; yet disastrous as this was, and triumphant as the English then were, under the Duke of Bedford, though ill from the loss of an eye in the battle, did this Prince not only gain his liberty by escape, ransom, or exchange, but plan and effect what could not have been supposed; for with the affistance of some confidential agents the King of France kept constantly near him, (to fecond and ratify whatever he should think proper to propose on his behalf) he procured in October, that year, a renewal of the ancient league between Scotland and France, by which the former undertook to support the other, against not only the English, but every other enemy; and this was ratified in Parliament by the French ambaffador, the Regent, his brother; Walter, his eldest son; the Earl of Athol, his uncle; and the great Earls and Barons, with the prelates, of Scotland; and he used all his endeavours to restore K. James I. to his long-withheld legal rights: and then, for the last time, he passed over into France, and continued to faithfully serve that crown as the ally of his own; but the battle of Verneuil, in Normandy, ended his glorious career. He had just taken the castle, as well as the town, and marched to attack Ivri; but finding the Earl of Salisbury had an army equal to his own, and well intrenched, he declined an engagement which prudence forbade, and he determined to remain entirely defensive; but this coolness was distasteful to

PART II. SECT. II. Children of the fecond marriage of Robert, Duke of Albany.

the impatient French; and made more fo by the Duke of Bedford (who had joined the forces under the great Talbot) fending an herald to challenge him, and a taunting message to his father-in-law, that he " intended to dine with him*. The French therefore became deaf to every thing but inftant revenge; and the Viscount Narbonne was fo provoked at his quiescence, which was the result of his great good conduct, that fnatching up a ftandard, he reproached him as fullying the glory of the French arms, and immediately rushing out of the line, was followed by his countrymen; the Scots, now no longer able to retain their temper, joined in the request to be led to battle, a rashness that was soon perceived by themselves, for the enemy were the flower of the English forces: vet they did all that the most confummate bravery could do; and long was victory dubious, until the Lombards and Milanefe left their ranks in hopes of plundering the English camp, which leaving the flank of the Scots exposed, they were obliged to submit to their fate; but until the last they shewed how well they deserved of those allies, for whom they had fuffered already so much: three hours they fought with all that determined valor that had established their fame throughout Europe. The Constable, with Earl Douglas, created Duke of Terouane, his father-in-law, Sir Robert Stuart his brother, and many other illustrious perfons of the Scotch nation, with 3000 others, fell in this action; and half that number of Frenchmen, amongst whom were the Earls of Aumale, Ventadour, de Tonnerre, Viscount of Narbonne, Lords Granville, Manni, Gammaches, Guitri, Duke of Alençon, the Marishal de Favette, and fome others of the nobility of France, were made prisoners; nor was the battle won without costing the English dear. It was fought August 18, 1425; this Earl's body, with those of his relations that fell in the carnage, was buried with great funeral pomp in the abbey church of St. Gratian, belonging to the canons

[&]quot; * Douglas replied to the Duke of Bedford, " that he should find the cloth laid." The Regent Duke was hurt probably at the former, for having deferted the arms of the English.

regular at Tours, in Touraine. It cannot be doubted that this was one of the greatest Princes of his family in every thing relating to the character of a general and a statesman; he appears to have all children of the the virtues, without the vices, of his father. He married, in 1413, riage of Ro-Elizabeth, daughter of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and Duke of of Albany. Terouane, by the Princess Margaret, daughter of K. Robert III. with whom it was flipulated that he was to receive a fortune fuitable to their rank. The issue of this marriage was an only child. Jean, married to George, Lord Seaton, ancestor of the present Earl of Winton; but it is faid she brought no part of her father's fortune to her family; if so, it was a reproach both to Scotland and France; however, her descendants quarter in their shield the arms of Buchan, i.e. azure three garbs, or. The honors her father held in Scotland, at least, ought in justice to have been hers; but the fovereign, jealous of the family of the Regents, would not permit it; however, the and Lord Seaton obtained a grant of 40 marcs yearly for their joint lives, and the longer liver of them.

9. Sir Robert Stuart, knight, the youngest son of Robert, Duke sir James of Albany, was bred to arms, and accompanied his brother, the Earl of Buchan, to France; he was slain with him at Verneuil; his body was also buried with that of his brother, in St. Gratian's church. He left no issue,

PART II. SECT. III.

PART II.

SECT. III.

MURDOCH. Duke of Albany, and governor of Scotland, was Duke of Alba ny, governor of the eldest son and heir of Robert, Duke of Albany, second son of Scotland, grandfon of K. K. Robert II. Little is known of him before 1402, when he joined Robert II. an army fent into England under the command of the Earl of Douglas, with many other noblemen, and a great number of knights. This gallant corps was attacked at Homeldon, near Wooler, by the Earl of Northumberland, and the justly-celebrated Hotspur, his fon; and fo great was the defeat of the Scots, that most of the persons of distinction were taken prisoners, and, amongst the number, Murdoch was captured; as he was the eldest son of the governor of Scotland, and fo nearly related to the fovereign, the Percys, though not famed for veneration to their own monarch, yet presented him to K. Henry IV. when, by the law of arms, as then prevalent in Europe, he became their prisoner, and might have been detained by them, until they had received his ranfom; yet they complimented Henry fo far, as to give him up entirely to his difpofal; a matter exceedingly grateful to that fufpicious and politic Prince, who rejoiced extremely in having two fuch pledges as him and K. James I. in his hands at the fame time. He was received with distinguished respect by Henry, who, to gain the good will of the governor, his father, omitted no courtefy that would be acceptable, and leffen the difagreeableness of his restraint. It must have appeared fingular to him to find himself a prisoner at the English court with his own sovereign; and it was sufficiently embarraffing to the governor to attempt his release before that of the royal captive: he therefore negociated for both, though with this

difference, he really wished to obtain the one, but dreaded to pro- PART II. cure the other; because his son's presence in Scotland strengthened his own power, and the King's might have annihilated it. The Murdoch, Duke of Al-English were sensible of this, and therefore seemed to forbid an bany, governor of Scotland, hope of his enlargement, by the exorbitance of the terms upon grandson of Robert 11. which they offered to liberate him; for in 1408, when a negociation was pending for that purpose, they demanded, that if he was permitted to return home, in his room should be fent David, for and heir of the Earl of Caithness; John Stuart, Earl of Buchan, another fon of the governor; Patrick Graham, Earl of Strathern, and Alexander Graham, fon and heir of Lord Graham, all nearly allied to the crown; and in 1412, some of these, with Walter his eldest fon, and others of the first families in the kingdom, were named in exchange for him; but fuch terms probably were only offered that they might be refused; and during the remainder of the reign of K. Henry IV. he continued a prisoner, without any hope of gaining his liberty; at the death of that monarch he, with K. James I. and two other Scotch gentlemen, were fent to the Tower, fearing that they might take advantage of the public confusion, and regain their native plains. Nothing could have been more difagreeable to him than living in the court of a foreign Prince, and under the eye of his fovereign, spending with his family and attendants his fortune, by which alone he might flatter himfelf he should at length be permitted to return home; for these reasons, in all the negociations between the kingdoms, attempts were made to effect what he fo ardently defired; but this Henry V. long refused, unless the governor his father would give up the French alliance. Robert was so far from complying, that he united himself to them by a new treaty, in which he promifed to affift them against the English, and all their other enemies: however Henry seems constantly to have paid every attention to him and K. James I. and though his treasury was not sufficient for his own great designs, yet he iffued out of it funs for their better maintenance; for the governor could not affift him, or did not chuse to do it, as it would have been indecent to have omitted to supply the king, his nephew,

PART II. SECT. 111. Murdoch, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland,

also a prisoner. In 1414, the sum of 300l. was issued out of the English exchequer for these two illustrious captives; the King had 700l. per annum allowed him by Henry, but he was permitted to borrow what fums he pleafed upon his own fecurity; and the 40,000l. grandfon of K. due in England at the time of his enlargement is generally supposed to have been what he received in this manner, chiefly probably of the rich Cardinal of Winchester, afterwards his uncle; and perhaps Murdoch might also obtain money in the same way; for ample as his estates were, and able to maintain him when residing upon them, they were far unequal to it in the gayest and richest court in Europe, and where the Scottish exiles thought it proper to vie with the English. Both he and K. James were soon released from their confinement in the Tower, and were indulged in all the diversions of the court; and it is well known great attention was paid to gratify the royal prisoner in whatever he wished, consistent with the fafety of his person. In 1414, Murdoch found himself upon the verge of being reftored to his father, for K. Henry liftening to the overtures of the governor, had confented to release him, in exchange for the young Earl of Northumberland, who had been captured at the ever-memorable battle of Otterburn, and he had been taken from the Tower, whither I apprehend he had been again fent; and Walter, his eldest son, George Dunbar, son and heir of the Earl of March; the Earl of Buchan, his uncle; Lord Graham; John Stuart, of Innermeath; Robert Maxwell, of Calderwood; and Andrew Hall, of Lyston, were appointed to conduct the Earl of Northumberland, and to receive him upon the borders; but from reasons not now known, K. Henry broke off the negociation, and he was to be fent again to London. The disappointment was so great, that regardless of public opinion, or his own safety, he attempted to gain that by artifice which he could not by treaty, for he fet out with a defign to escape by flight; but he was retaken by Ralph Pudfoy, Efg. for which he had a reward of 201. per annum fettled upon him. But in the latter end of 1415, or the beginning of the year following, Henry consented to the exchange, though it is wonderful he should, unless he thought the sending him home

would gain the governor, his father, so far to his interest, that he would prevent the Scots affifting France, and that the detaining K. James was sufficient to keep the Duke of Albany true to his Mu doch, Duke of Alcause; but if Henry had such thoughts, he soon found that they bany, governor of Scotland, did not coincide with the governor's policy; and it was on that ac-grandfon of K. count, I think, that he determined to permit the unfortunate monarch to return to his kingdom, and which would have happened, had not Henry's death prevented it; but judge the consternation that both Murdoch and his father must have been in, when they knew it, and that the former was again to be fent with many other Princes and nobles, as a fecurity that James should return to England at a stipulated time, or forfeit 100,000l., a sum it was known Scotland could not raife. The Duke of Albany, old as he was, possessed all that ambition that had distinguished him in his youth; therefore, that he might throw an odium upon James, and to counteract the defigns of Henry, whose brows were crowned with the laurels of Agincourt, he affected to have it thought that the Scotch King had united with the English monarch to make war upon France; an idea which had it been general, James I., though permitted to return, would probably have been refused entrance into his kingdom, by the united voice of all his subjects, who would then eafily have been persuaded to set the crown upon the next branch of the royal family, which had fo long governed them. In 1419, by the death of his aged father, Murdoch obtained the Dukedom of Albany, the Earldoms of Fife and Monteith, with the other family possessions; and he was called to the chair of state in which the old Duke had fat: and by the early termination of a glorious life Henry V. ceased to terrify him, either by giving a general or partial freedom to his fovereign; fo that it might be fupposed he trusted to a long period of domination, as in the minority of K. Henry VI. It would, he thought, be the interest of the English court to retain K. James's person, and perhaps he might die a prusoner and unmarried; but that which seemed to be the greatest security against having his power superseded, annihilated it; for it was the policy of the English to restore James, as he could

PART II. SECT 111

not be more liberal in his affiftance to the French than Murdoch; and the fums to be paid were much wanted, as at least part of them Mardoch, Duke of Alba- had been lent out of the exchequer; and a Princess of the blood ny, sovernor of royal obtained in him a more splendid alliance than otherwise she grandfon of K. could have had, and the would naturally affift in recommending an Robert II. union with her own country, in opposition to France; besides, the money he owed in England would make him incapable of supporting the French. I have mentioned all these circumstances as proofs that James's restoration was not the action of Murdoch, but originated with the English; for can it be supposed that this Prince, as governor of Scotland, could wish to bring back his fovereign, who would reduce him to the station of a subject, and, at least, look upon him and his family with a jealous eye for all the cruelties he had experienced from them, and would probably rejoice in every occasion he could find to mortify, if not punish, them? It is not meant to infer that England acted generously, but she judged wisely. Murdoch had no other merit in this great affair than in not impotently opposing what all Scotland rejoiced in, as it is allowed he was greatly deficient in the arts of government; that his power was defpised by the people, and slighted even by his family; that disorders might be feen through every part of his administration, the fruit of his, and his father's criminal ambition: his fecuring fome by the abolition of the royal domain, and by freeing the people from every restraint and every burden, how necessary soever for the well being and support of the state. For these reasons Scotland rejoiced, and he was obliged to acquiesce in the return of the sovereign in 1424, greatly to his fecret mortification. K. James at first treated him with that respect his high rank and nearness of blood required; for he permitted him, as Earl of Fife, to conduct him at his coronation to the chair of state, and he was named by him, after his return, the first of the conservators of the truce concluded between K. James and the English; but foon a very different scene prefented itself; he and his family were involved in one common ruin. Historians have given us a very imperfect relation of it; and as it is so extraordinary, I shall endeavour to unravel it as much as pos-

fible: to do this the better, I shall mix the catastrophe of Murdoch PART II. and his fons together, as the whole is fo interwoven, and depends fo much upon peculiar circumstances relative to each, that without Murdoch, Duke of Altaking this method it could not be fo well explained. K. James, of Scotland, it must be remarked, was crowned at Scone, April 20, 1424, at grandson of K. Robert II. which time no crime was alledged against the father, for having performed the first office in the state; but May 13 following, Walter, his eldest fon, was arrested in the castle of Edinburgh, with Malcolm Fleming, of Cumbernauld, and Thomas Boyd, of Kilmarnock, Walter was fent a close prisoner to the Isle of Bass; Fleming first to Dalkeith, and then to St. Andrews; but he, as well as Boyd, were foon freed from their restraint, though the other remained in custody; and yet, in the Parliament met at Perth, the 26th of the same month, no notice seems to have been taken of this detention, either by the young Prince, his friends, or the monarch; nor was any thing done that could reflect upon the late regent, or his family, except an act of resumption that passed, and which was absolutely necessary; as from the liberality of the two governors, the whole of the royal revenue was disposed of to themselves, and their friends; and they had omitted levying taxes to retain the love of the lower orders; the sheriffs, were therefore, directed to inquire what James's ancestors, David II. Robert II. and Robert III. "of good memory," had enjoyed in their counties; and all were obliged upon fummons, to shew by what right they held their possessions, which in a most sensible manner restected upon them, and aimed at dispossessing them, and their friends, of what had been appropriated of the royal patrimony; but no infurrection infued, all paid a due obedience to the fovereign, who yet retained Lord Walter in prison; and March 9, 1425, eleven months after he had been arrefted, James also seized the Duke of Albany, his father, and Alexander, his brother, in Edinburgh caftle; and three days after commenced his fecond Parliament, held likewife at Perth; when he arrested the Earls of Douglas, Angus, March, and Crawford, Lord Hay, great conflable of the kingdom, Sir John Stuart of Dundonald, a natural fon of K. Robert II. with

PART II. SECT. III. Murdoch, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, grandfon of K. Robert II. two other gentlemen of the name of Stuart, and fixteen knights and gentlemen of the first families in the realm; but it is not faid for what reason this was done; probably, it was because they had refused to comply with the requisition demanded of furrendering up the lands they held by grants from the regents, or would not shew their title deeds of fuch estates as were claimed by the sheriffs; this bold and severe blow was not refented by the nation, and probably, they agreed to what was asked of them, as they were all set at liberty again; but, the Duke of Albany and his family experienced a very different fate; for Murdoch, who had been fent to the castle of Carleverock, still remained a prisoner, and all his seats and strong places were feized, especially the castles of Falkland in the county of Fife, and Down, in that of Monteith; in the latter of them. was Isabella, the Duchess, who with his fecretaries, Alan Otterburn, and Sir John Montgomery, of a place of that name, were fent to the castle of St. Andrews; but these gentlemen were within three days discharged from confinement. The Duchess was removed to the castle of Tantallon in Lothian; and the Earl of Lenox her father, then more than eighty years of age, was also arrested, and kept a prisoner; so that the whole family of the late governor were in confinement, except his fon James, who had been particularly noticed by the king; but he refenting the misfortunes brought upon his family, and, infligated to revenge by Finlay, bishop of Argyle, who had been secretary to the Duke his father, flew to arms, and with a body of men he had collected from the mountainous part of the kingdom, attacked the town of Dunbarton, which refulling him, he fet fire to it upon holy-rood day, i. e. May 3, furprizing the governor, Sir John Stuart, called the "Red," a natural fon of K. Robert II., (and who, a little before, had been amongst the number of the imprisoned noblemen and others,) he not only put him to death, but thirty-two of those likewife taken in the town; this was a most ill-judged and useless revolt, and the murders and defolation it occasioned, rendered the prepetators deferving of the utmost punishment; but the slorm fell chiefly upon others, who at least were in comparison innocent:

for the King, justly enraged at this open contempt of the royal au- PART II. thority, affembled fuch a force, that Sir James found it impossible to withftand; he therefore withdrew from the kingdom, and with Duke of Albahis preceptor, the bishop, (who merits the detestation of posterity) scotland, took refuge in Ireland; but the fovereign, who probably returned grandfon of K. to his dominions with no prepoffession in favor of the Albany branch of his family, now determined to cut off those whom he had in prison, if convicted: he gave a commission to many of the first noblemen in the kingdom, and certain considerable persons of the higher gentry, to try the prisoners, something in the nature of our Oyer and Terminer, a mode not unknown either to Scotland or England; for the former had no separate House of Peers at any time, all fat in the fame room, fo that no exception could be taken against such a jury: they were, Walter Stuart, Earl of Athol, uncle to the King, and brother to the Duke of Albany, of the halfblood; Archibald, Earl of Douglas; Alexander Stuart, Earl of Mar; William Douglas, Earl of Angus; William St. Clair, Earl of Orkney; Alexander, of the Isles, Earl of Ross; George Dunbar, Earl of March; James Douglas, of Abercorn, Lord Balveny; Robert Stuart, Lord Lorn; Sir John Montgomery, of Montgomery; Sir Gilbert de Hay, of Errol, constable of Scotland; Sir Thomas Somerville, of Somerville; Sir Herbert Herries, of Terregles; Sir James Douglas, of Dalkeith; Sir Robert Cunningham, of Kylmaur; Sir Alexander Levington, of Kalendar; Sir Thomas Hay, of Lochchorwart, or Yester; Sir William Borthwich, of Borthwich; Sir Patrick Ogilby, of Ouchterhouse, sheriff of Angus; Sir John Forrester, of Corstorphin; and, Sir Walter Ogilby, of Linthrathin. The illustrious persons assembled at Stirling, whither the culprits were removed; the trials commenced with the utmost pomp and folemnity; the fovereign prefiding in person, royally robed with his crown upon his head, and a fcepter in his hand; on the eighth, (only five days after the violent death of Sir John Stuart), five of the accomplices in that murder were arraigned, condemned, and put to death as traitors; a fatal prognostic to the high-born prisoners of what they were to expect, if they were found

PART II. SECT. III. 5 Murdoch, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland,

guilty. It is not known what were the crimes alledged against them, as the records are not now in existence; some have supposed, that the charge was for mal-practices during the regency of Murdoch; but that could not have affected the Earl of Lenox, I should grandfon of K. think, for though fome counts might relate to the ill conduct of the Duke and his eldest fons during that period, yet, as the third fon had evidently not incurred the displeasure of the sovereign when he returned into his dominions, and the recent violences had involved them all in one general crime, I cannot suppose, but it was that which was chiefly infifted upon at their trial *; whatever it was, they were unanimously found guilty, and the royal mercy being refused, Sir Walter, and Sir Alexander, the Duke's two sons, were, May 18, 1425, the day following their condemnation, led to the hill near Stirling Castle, and underwent their sentence of decapitation; and the next day, their unhappy father and grandfather, (though the latter was of so great an age), also lost their heads at the fame place; their bodies were all buried in the church belonging to the monastery of the Black Friars in Sterling, on the fouth fide of the high altar; over the remains of these illustrious unfortunates were placed their effigies, and arms engraved in brass; it is impossible to read their history, and not to feel great forrow for their miserable and difgraceful end; when neither their high rank, great honors and wealth, nor the venerable age of the one, or the youth of the others, could mollify the stern decrees of the law, or obtain the mercy of their fovereign, and near relation. Murdoch has his great feal refembling his father's, only upon the fecond and third quarters in his paternal shield is a label.

Isabella, wife of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, grandfon to K. Robert II.

The Duke married Isabella, daughter and co-heires of Duncan, Earl of Lenox, whose death has just been mentioned; she resided at Down when it was taken, after which she removed to Tentallon

* The Parliament upon the arresting Duke Murdoch and his fons, renewed the laws of K. David I. and K. Robert I. against leagues or affociations, abettors of the rebels, and leafing-making; wherefore, fome have thought their crimes were uniting in a bond with rebels against their fovereign.

in Lothian, the is always reprefented by the Scotch writer as a very PART II. high-spirited lady; her conduct greatly tended to involve her father, husband, and fons in one common ruin by the violence of her tem-of Murdoch, per, which instigated them to acts derogatory to that duty they all Duke of Alowed to their fovereign. Buchanan relates that it was reported of Scotland, grandfon of K. that the King fent her the heads of these her nearest connections, to Robert 11. fee what effect fo horrible a fight would have, and whether it would provoke her, through impatience, to reveal fome fecrets; but the was no otherwise moved by such a dreadful spectacle, than to say, " if the crimes objected against them were true, the King had done " justly, and according to law;" but this barbarous infult to a female, feems only a popular report, which the author eagerly caught at, to fink the character of James, from his well-known diflike to the kingly office, and to the persons and characters of sovereigns. The fettlement preceding her marriage, was figned at Inchmurin, a feat of her father, and dated February 17, 1391; by it the earldom of Lenox was to be vested in the crown, and to be re-granted to Duncan, with a limitation to his heirs male, and upon failure to this lady, his daughter, and her heirs by Murdoch; remainder to the heirs of her father; but if there was male iffue born to the Earl of Lenox, then he was to give 200 marks sterling, for her fortune, to be paid at reasonable times, as circumstances should happen; but as there was little probability of the Earl her father's having a fon, he again furrendered the title to K. Robert III. who recognized it November 8, 1393, limiting it absolutely to the heirs of this marriage, and this was renewed in 1411, by which the male heirs of the ancient family of Lenox was precluded from the fucceffion to the earldom, but she, to gratify William Lord Graham, who held of that title in 1423, as prefumptive heirefs, confirmed and affured to him his lands: in this deed she stiles herself "Isabella "Stewart, Duchess of Albany, Countess of Fife and Monteith, " and heiress of the earldom of Lenox;" expressing that the deed was executed with the confent of Duke Murdoch, governor of the kingdom, and of their fon Walter; notwithstanding that both her father and husband had been cut off for treason, she was permitted

PART II. SECT. III. Ifabella, wife of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, grandfon of K. Robert II.

to retain the earldom of the former, and the duchy of the other; a certain proof of the commisferation of K. James I. for her, so contrary to what is related by Buchanan; of this the most indubitableproofs remain in her charters still extant, dated in her widowhood. Her violence, we may suppose, was intirely broken by her almost unparalleled misfortunes; the found confolation only where it could be obtained in the bosom of religion; for in 1450, she founded and endowed the magnificent collegiate church of Dunbarton, dedicated to St. Patrick, the patron of Ireland, who was supposed to be a native of Lenox; and three other churches in that county, Fintray, Strathbane, and Bonhill; she also endowed the priory of Dominicans at Glasgow, but with the consent of Margaret, her surviving fifter, for the good of their fouls, and those of "her dear Lord " Murdoch of beloved memory;" their father, late Earl of Lenox, and her fons, Walter, James, and Alexander, which deed is dated at Inchmurin, May 18, 1451; at the latter end of which year, or the beginning of the following, her forrows ceafed, for the then defcended to the untimely graves of her relatives.

tifue of Mur- The Issue of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, and Regent of Scotland, by doch, Duke of Albany, &c.

Isabella his Duchese.

Robert.

- 1. Robert, who died before his father; it is fingular that the Duches, his mother, forgot to have his soul prayed for in her religious foundations that have been mentioned, if she had such a son.
- 2. Sir Walter Stuart, who in 1421, was one of those who were to have been given in hostage for the return of K. James I. if it had been permitted him to have resided some time in his own dominions, as he was slattered he should have been, when K. Henry V. of England came from France, to which kingdom he took the royal captive; but as the sormer died in France, the idea was laid aside. This Prince has been greatly dispraised by the pens of many of the

Scotch, for his undutiful conduct both to his father, and to his PARTIL fovereign; the effect of the conspiracy against the King has been mentioned; and it is faid, that he failed to effentially in his beha- Iffue of Mundoch, Duke of vior to Murdoch, that it caused him to recall the King from ba-Albany, &c. nishment, and restore him to the throne of his ancestors; for meeting this fon in returning from the sports of the field, and having a favorite falcon upon his hand, the young Prince, after repeatedly asking to have the bird, and being so constantly refused, so far forgot his respect, that seizing it, he wrong off its head, which so exafperated the parent, that he faid, "if I cannot govern you, I will fend for one to whom both you and I must submit," and accordingly negotiated the King's restoration; but as I have proved that Murdoch had neither the power nor the will to effect that change, this appears a ftory invented to make the Albany branch of the royal family odious, especially when an historian speaks of him as "pol-" fessing all the accomplishments of person and mind:" another, 56 that he was tall of stature, extremely eloquent, and of the " greatest condescension, so that he was beloved of all, and his "death was deplored, not only by those who personally knew him, "but fuch who were acquainted with his merit;" no wonder then that the spectators beheld his execution with a compassionate forrow *.

3. Sir James Stuart, furnamed the "Gross," was highly favored Sir James and beloved by K. James I. for his peaceable deportment, and Stuart, Kt. therefore not molested when his family were imprisoned; but either from levity or revenge for the confinement of his parent, and brothers, he was prevailed upon by Finlay, bishop of Argyle, who had been fecretary to the Duke of Albany, to affemble a desperate set of outlaws and mountaineers, and May 3, 1425, he seized upon the town of Dunbarton, and fet it on fire, where furprizing his majesty's great uncle, Sir John Stuart, furnamed the "Red," he in-

^{*} Fordon fays that Sir Walter was tried, condemned, and executed; and the day following, his father, grandfather, and brother; but he is fingular in his affertion.

PART II. SECT. 111. Iffue of Mur-Albany, &c.

humanely put him to death; but finding himfelf declared are bel, and that he was unable to cope with the royal power fent against doch, Duke of him, he was obliged with that prelate, his governor, to fly into Ireland, and so attached were the Highlanders to the Albany branch, that very many followed him into that kingdom, where they foon obtained fettlements; for which reason, all intercourse was forbidden between Scotland and Ireland. Sir James died in or before 1451.

Sir Alexander Stuart, Kt.

4. Sir Alexander Stuart, who was the first that was knighted by K. James I. at his coronation; but joining with his family in their difloyalty, he was arrefted, tried, convicted, and fuffered death with his brother Walter: he is commended also for his tall fine person, great strength, and obliging condescension. As neither of these brothers ever married, the legitimate branch of Albany perished in them; so injurious was that fatal ambition that swayed it: had Robert the regent been content with the fecond place in the kingdom, his honors might long have remained in his family; but his criminal ambition led astray his posterity from the duty that even the nearest princes to the throne owe to the sovereign, and by their attainder, the dukedom of Albany, with the earldoms of Fife, Monteith, and Lenox, together with many other great possessions, became forfeited to the monarch, whom this branch had fo often despised, or pretended so to do; Robert had great talents for conducting the affairs of the flate, and though he obtained by indirect means the management of the kingdom, yet he strove to make a compensation for his usurpation; but Murdoch, though equally ambitious and cruel, was flothful, rapacious, vindictive and violent: he was guided by folly, and difgrace and ruin followed; but when the youth and accomplishments of the Princes his fons are confidered, James I. feems to have been more guided by rebranch of the Albany family, venge and fear, than a love of justice and mercy.

Illegitimate descended from Sir James Stuart, fon of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, &c.

Though all the legitimate male offspring of Murdoch were cut off, yet there was an illegitimate stem, that from their subsequent

greatness deserve particular mention. Sir James, the son of that PART II. Regent, by a lady of the Macdonalds in Ireland, left feven fons, whom K. James II. compassionating, recalled, and conferred upon Illegitimate brackets of the feveral of them great honors. Andrew, the eldest, he fent into Albanysamily, defended England to receive his education in one of the Universities; and from Sir James Stuart, fon of upon his returning to Court, he was appointed Gentleman of the Murdoch,
Duke of Alba-Bedchamber, knighted, and foon after created Baron Evandale, ny, &c. and a Lord Warden of the East Marches. K. James III. gave him still higher marks of his regard; for upon his accession, in 1640, he appointed him Lord High Chancellor of Scotland; and in the same year he was named one of the ambassadors to the English Court to renew the truce between the two nations, and also a Lord of the Regency in the minority of that fovereign. In 1465 he was again appointed, with others, an ambassador to York, upon a business similar to that upon which he had been in England before, and he was fortunate enough to obtain what he was fent to effect : again, in 1469, he went into Denmark, accompanied with feveral other noblemen, bishops, and the first persons amongst the gentry, to obtain a marriage, and which was brought to a happy conclusion. So greatly was James pleased with his services, that foon after he received a grant of the Earldom of Lenox for life, and he obtained a patent under the Great Seal to legitimate himself and his brothers Arthur and Walter, with permission to devise their eftates as freely as if they had been born in wedlock. His steady and uniform attachment and fidelity to his fovereign, as well during the time he held the feals, as afterwards, evinces how much he deferved the confidence, and merited the favor, of that monarch: his death happened in 1488, nearly at the same time that the unhappy potentate fell by the hands of his rebellious subjects.

2. Sir Murdoch Stuart, who wrote himfelf "Steward of Albany, " knight, brother german to the high and powerful Sir Andrew, Lord Evandale;" fo that it may be supposed that he was not born of the fame mother: he died without iffue. 3. Arthur; 4. Robert; and, 5. Alexander, called themselves by the surname of

PART 11. SECT. II. Illegitimate Albany family, descended By, &c.

Albany, in remembrance of the high title their ancestors enjoyed: neither of these three had any sons. 6. Walter Stuart, seated at branches of the Morphy, who left feveral children, the eldest of whom was Alexander, to whom Lord Evandale bequeathed that title and his forfrom Str James tune; but as the former was not allowed of by the Peers, the fo-Murdoch, Duke of Alba- vereign, in 1503, confidering his nearness in blood, and the worth of the Chancellor, folemnly invested him with the barony of Evandale in Parliament, and it was proclaimed by found of trumpet by the heralds, without the doors of the House, a custom then usual, in creating Peers in the kingdom of Scotland: from him descends many noble families of the furname of Stuart or Stewart *. His fon Andrew, Lord Evandale, exchanged that title for Ochiltree, by confent obtained of the Crown. 7. James, feated at Beg, from whom defcends the Stewards of Balderon and other places.

> 5. The eldest of the Regent Murdoch's daughters was married to Archibald Campbel, of Lockhow, Efq.

> 6. Isabel, the other daughter of that Duke, became the wife of Sir Walter Buchanan, of the place of that name, Knt.

> * Of the families descended from the Lord Evandale were, the Baron Methven, who will be noticed in a future page; the Earls of Murray, the Lords St. Colme, now extinct; and the Stewarts of Kilbeg, and others.



PART II.

SECT. IV.

Alexander, Earl of Buchan, the third Son of K. Robert II.

ALEXANDER, Earl of Buchan, third fon of K. Robert II. by Alexander, Elizabeth, his first wife, had the Lordship of Badenoch given him third son of K. by his royal father, to hold "as freely as Cummin had enjoyed it;" Robert 11, and in 1334, he had a grant of the Earldom of Buchan, and by his marriage he gained for life that of Ross, forming together a very ample patrimony, of which he was very undeferving, from his violent vindictive disposition; expressive of which, he was called the "wolf of Badenoch." His conduct to Alexander Bar, Bishop of Murray, flews he fully deferved the epithet given him; for defirous of augmenting his estates, he seized some of the lands of that prelate, and kept possession, defending his usurpation by arms; the Bishop having tried what other methods would do, and finding them vain, at length, in May, 1390, excommunicated him: exasperated at this, he affembled his retainers, and burnt the town of Forres, with the choir of that church, and the archdeacon's house: and in June following he burnt the town of Elgin, the church of St. Giles, the hospital of Maison Dieu, the cathedral church, called the lanthorn and ornament of the North of Scotland, with eighteenhouses of the canons in the college of Elgin. Such was his prefumption, that instead of retiring until he had obtained a pardon from the King his father, he repaired to his court, as if he had done only what was meritorious; but fuch atrocious deeds against every thing that was facred and estimable, drew down upon him that vengeance his crimes deserved; for his royal father, bowed down as he

PART II. SECT. IV. Alexander, third fon of K. Robert II.

was, with age, and defirous of ending his days in peace, shocked that the close of his life was to be hurt by fuch a daring infringe-Earlof Buchan, ment of the laws of his country, and that it should proceed from the temerity of his fon, ordered him to be apprehended and strictly imprisoned; happily his brothers did not fly to arms to liberate him, or the kingdom must have been involved in a civil war; probably the outrages he had committed tended to haften the death of the aged monarch; but however he might conduct himself with indifference in the commencement, he was most amply brought to submission, and that of the humblest kind possible; for he was obliged to bend to the stern decree of the church, and of the government: being conducted to Perth, he appeared barefooted and in fackcloth at the door of the church of the Black Friars, and afterwards, in the same humiliating guise, came to the high altar, where were affembled the King and his nobles, before whom he was obliged to confess his offences, and promise a full reparation to the Bishop and church of Murray, and obtain the Pope's pardon; and then Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrew's, absolved him from his flagitious crimes; but how far he complied with what was enjoined, and what he promised, is not known *. He did not long furvive this penance, dying (some fay in prison) Feb. 20, 1394. his body was buried in the middle aifle of the choir of the cathedral church of Dunkeld; over his remains was his recumbent offigies in armor, with this inscription upon the pedestal:

> " Hic jacet Dominus Alexander Senescallus Comes de Buchan & " Dominus de Badenoch, bene memoriæ, qui obijt 20 die menses Februarij, 46 Anno Dom. 1394."

> The monument continued entire until the revolution, when a party of Angus's regiment were stationed there, and it was defaced by some of the soldiers; but it is mentioned as still in being

^{*} Bishop Bar, who died in 1397, began the rebuilding of the church of Elgin, to which every canon contributed, as did every parish in the diocese.

by Mr. Pennant: as he had destroyed many churches, and that of PARTIL Elgin, one of the finest structures in Scotland, he did not deserve any monument, much less to be called of "good memory."

Alexander married Euphane, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Euphane, William, Earl of Rofs, by his first lady, Isabel, daughter of John, lexander, Earl Earl of Caithness; which Euphane first married Sir Walter Lesley, third son of K. fecond fon of Sir Andrew Lefley, of a place of that name; and Robert II. whilft his widow, fhe re-married to Alexander, and, as by a deed of refignation, and a renewed charter, the Earldom of Rofs, and the Lordship of Sky, (with some exceptions of land in the latter) was limited, by her father's defire, to her and her heirs male and female, the brought this Earldon to both her hufbands; but the having a fon, named Alexander, by her former husband, he inherited the Earldom and Lordship after her decease: by Alexander, Earl of Buchan, she had no children.

Though this Prince left no issue by his lady, he had a natural Duncan, a nachild, named Duncan, justly called "the fierce fon of a fierce lexander, Earl "father," who, in 1391, under pretence of revenging his father's quarrel with the Bishop of Murray, invaded Angus with a considerable number of Highland freebooters, and ravaged and plundered it: alarmed for the fafety of the country, Walter Ogilvy, its Sheriff, opposed him; but unfortunately Duncan prevailed against, and flew him, with Walter Leighton, and about fixty of his followers. The Earl of Crawford was therefore difpatched with an army to chastife his presumption and punish his crimes, who dispersed the rebels, putting many of them to the fword; others were led to public execution; probably Duncan was either cut off, retired into Ireland, or the Isles of Scotland, for his name occurs no more in history.

PART II.

SECT. V.

David, Earl of Strathern, eldest Son of the second marriage of K. Robert II. with Q. Eupheme.

riage of Robert II. with

David, Earl of DAVID, Earl of Strathern, was the eldest son of K. Robert II. Strathern, eld-eft fon of the by Eupheme, his fecond wife; and who, upon his father's advancement to the throne, gave him Strathern, with a Palatinate Q. Eupheme. Power, to hold and to enjoy to him and his heirs male, as freely as it was possessed by Melise, the late Earl, or any of the preceding ones: the charter bears date July 9, 1371; and in the fame, and the following month he obtained two others also under the Great Seal, granting to him the barony and castle of Urquhart, in the county of Inverness, with others in that of Perth; in 1276. and 1377, four more passed the Seal, giving him many other baronies and lands; in most of these he is called Sir David Seneschal or Steward, Knight, Earl of Strathern, " our most beloved fon." He makes no figure in the history of Scotland; of no one action of his have I ever read, nor is the time of his death noticed, or the

His Countefs. family of his Countefs; but her name was Eupheme.

The descendants of David, Earl of Strathern.

The iffue of this marriage was a daughter of the same name, who took the title of Countess of Strathern; she became the second wife of Sir Patrick Graham, and who, in her supposed right, took the title of Earl of Strathern; he was killed, in 1413, by Sir John Drummond. The only child of this marriage was a fon, named Melife, or Miles, who was as nearly allied to the

Crown, as to the mi fortunes attendant upon it; for, when a youth, he was fent an hostage into England, as a security for the payment of the money exacted for the maintenance of K. James I. The Defeendwhilft detained at the Anglican Court; upon his return he had Earl of Strathe mortification to be deprived of the Earldom of Strathern, fon of the febecause it was discovered to be a male fief, and consequently that of K. Rob. II. neither his mother nor himself were justly entitled to it *; how-pheme. ever, as a compensation for the loss sustained by this resumption, a grant passed, September 6, 1428, of the Earldom of Monteith; but this did not fatisfy his family; his uncle Graham was fo much exasperated at the loss of Strathern, that he conspired, and effected the death of K. James I. though that fovereign was justified in depriving Melise of it. Monteith was long in the family. William, the feventh Earl of that title, attempted to vindicate his claim to that of Strathern. This nobleman, fo nearly related to the throne, died in 1492, at a very advanced age, leaving by Ann, his Countess, daughter of Henry, Earl of Oxford, (with whom he was probably captivated, whilst a prisoner in England) three fons, from the eldeft of whom descended many peers of the titles of Monteith and Airth; but William, the ninth who enjoyed them, having no child, furrendered up those titles, with his estates, to the Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Montrofe, descended from Sir Patrick Graham, Earl of Strathern, by a prior marriage of his, to that with the daughter of Prince David, Earl of Strathern, fon to K. Robert II. and Q. Eupheme; a peculiar hardship, when there were so many remaining of the

^{*} It is most natural to suppose K. James I. acted equitably, though probably not politically, in refuming the Earldom of Strathern; for William, the seventh Earl of Monteith, in 1639, under pretence that his ancestor had been unjustly deprived of Strathern, obtained from K. Charles I. a patent to resume the title; but that monarch was so well convinced that he had been imposed upon, that he deprived him of both the Earldoms of Strathern and Monteith; but his Majesty was afterwards prevailed upon to create his Lordihip Earl of Airth, and at length restored him to the title of Monteith.

PART II. SECT. V. The defcend-Earl of Strathern, eldest fon of the feof K. Rob. II. with Q. Eupheme.

offspring of the Princess, his daughter, on whose account the Grahams had obtained these honors; the direct representative of ants of David, whom was fprung from her fecond fon, called for his valor "Sir John Graham with the bright fword," a branch more diftant ton of the fe-cond marriage was ennobled by K. James VII. but his title of Viscount Preston was loft for his adherence to that unfortunate monarch.

PART II.

SECT. VI.

Walter, Earl of Athol, second Son of K. Robert II. by Queen Eupkeme.

WALTER, fecond fon of the fecond marriage of K. Robert II: Walter, Earl was created in 1375, Earl of Athol, and afterwards were added the of Athol, fe-earldoms of Strathern and Caithness; we know nothing of him du-Q. Eupheme. ring the regencies of the Dukes of Albany, his brother and nephew, except that he was one of those who swore to the treaty of peace between Scotland and France, which was concluded during the government of the former; perhaps the little authority he obtained in the Scottish court, might occasion him to feek employment in that of England, for, in April, 1421, he accompanied the Earl of Douglas to London, when that nobleman went to offer his fervices to the victorious Henry V. How long he remained does not appear; but upon the return of K. James I. his nephew of the half-blood, he was highly trutted by him; for, in 1424, he was appointed a conservator of the truce with England, and was one of the Princes who was named a trustee or auditor, to superintend the collection of the taxes to be raifed in that year for the support of government, and to affift in paving off the fum of money due to the English; and fo highly did K. James confide in him, that he was the first commissioner of those named to judge his half-brother, the unfortunate Duke of Albany and his fons. In 1431, he was again named a conservator of the truce then renewed with England, to continue from May 1, in that year, until May 1, 1427. Yet all these favors, and all the confidence which his fovereign reposed in him, could neither win his affection, nor fecure his fidelity, but either

PART II. SECT. VI. Walter, Earl of Athol, fe-Q. Eupheme.

disgusted with the monarch for depriving his nephew, Graham, of the earldom of Strathern, or seduced from his duty by listening to fome of those deceiving people, who then were so often implicond fon of K. Robert II. and citly believed, from their pretentions to a knowledge of futurity. and who had told him he should one day wear a crown, that he joined with Robert Graham *, the uncle, and governor of young Graham, to surprize, and put the King to death, which they effected, by collecting a body of lawless men, who, with them, came to the convent of Perth, where the fovereign was in a defenceless flate, having difbanded his army; the conspirators, affished by this Prince's grandson and heir, Robert Stuart, a gentleman of the bedchamber, and confidential domestic about the person of the monarch, obtained their entrance into the monaftery with greater eafe, and falling upon the King, unheedful of their duty, of pity to him, or of compassion to his Queen who clung round him, and received feveral wounds in defending him, left him dead, pierced with twenty-eight wounds; but this parricide, perpetrated in November, 1437, instead of answering the design intended, involved the guilty wretches who effected it in the most grievous misfortunes, and such as feemed even to exceed the crime they had committed, heinous as it was. It is impossible to fay why the heads of the conspiracy did not avow openly for what reason they had deprived their sovereign of life, and if Walter had any expectation of the crown, that he did not mention his claim; though how he could ground it is next to impossible to suppose, for if any objection could have been raised against the legality of K. Robert II.'s first marriage, or the iffue he had by Elizabeth, yet Robert Graham, the young Earl of Monteith, would have been the heir in that case to the crown, as the representative of David, Earl of Strathern, the eldest son of the marriage of that potentate with Queen Eupheme How far he

^{*} Robert Graham the elder, one of the conspirators, was brother of the full-blood to Sir Patrick Graham, Earl of Strathern, and fon of Sir Patrick Graham, by his fecond wife, Eupheme, daughter of Sir John Stuart of Railston, a brother of K. Robert II. so that he was second cousin of K. James I. and first cousin one remove to Prince Walter, Earl of Athol, the other great conspirator.

might plan a scheme of seating the minor upon the throne, and governing in his name until he faw a proper time to take him off, or depose him, to make way for himself, is impossible to determine; Walter, Earl of but whatever was the plan, the general odium of the nation forbade fon of K. Rohis putting it in practice; for, as if they had been defeated in Eupheme, their project, they fled in consternation instead of defending the action, or avowing why they had done it. The eagerness with which all strove to seize the heads of the conspiracy, was crowned with all the fuccefs they could hope. David, his grandfon, with the elder Graham*, who alone of his family were guilty, were all brought back within forty days, to undergo all the punishment that a people, who grieved for the loss of a King whom they revered as a common parent, could inflict; and they fuffered death with all the pain and ignominy that it was possible to inslict, the particulars of which are too painful to relate, without cautioning the merciful reader, that he may, if he wishes it, avoid the horrid relation, by omitting to read the note at the bottom of this and the following page i. Perhaps the conftant odium that the Scotch nation have

* Graham fled to Athol, whose woods he was well acquainted with; but the Laird of Strowan, Robertson, pursued and took him, for which he had an augmentation to his arms of a man vanquished chained, of which only five instances are found in the Scottish heraldry, and those bearings are all of ennobled families; that Laird was also rewarded with lands in Athol and Bwadalbin, which possessions, fays Abercrombie, are still retained by the Lairds of Strowan.

+ I give this verbatim from Guthrie, who fays, " Abercrombie, and other Scotch historians, relate the fignal punishment inflicted on the murderers with great delight; but it is too disagreeable a subject to enter into the body of general history;" and then gives the words of Abercrombie, which are, "I am forry that I cannot inform my readers by whom the Earl of Athol himself, and the rest of the murderers, were apprehended; but we are fure that so much diligence was used, that within less than forty days all the conspirators were brought to Edinburgh, arraigned, condemned, and executed. The meaner fort of them, fuch as Christopher Clawn, or Cahorn, were lianged on gibbets; but the Earl himfelf, his grandchild, Robert Stuart, and coufin Graham, were proceeded against with unprecedented feverity, being justly adjudged to exquisite torments, and new kinds of deaths. Some part of three days was spent in the execution of Athol: on the first he was stripped naked to his shirt,

PART II. SECT VI. Walter, Earl of Athol, fecond fon of K, Robeit II. and Q. Eupheme.

ever expressed for the Earl of Athol's character, is the reason why we know of no other particular relative to his family, only that he had a grandson by a son.

fet in a moving cart, where, a crane being fixed, his body was ofren lifted up by a pulley to a great height, and shewed to the spectators for some time, then suddenly let fall almost to the ground; by which means his members were miserably disjointed, and his life preserved for more shame, and no less pain; for on the second day he was placed on a pillar in the view of the people, and a crown of hot iron set on his head, with this inscription: 'Here stands the King of Traitors.' Thus was his oracle accomplished. On the third, being placed on an hurdle, he was dragged by horses through the high street to the place of execution, where being laid on a plank, first his bowels, then his heart, was pulled out, and thrown into a fire. Lastly, his head being cut off, was fixed on a pole in the most eminent place of the city, and his body sent in quarters to the four chief towns in the kingdom.

"Robert Stuart being but a young man, and therefore the more eafily feduced by the influence of a grandfather, was used more mildly; yet though he was so nearly related to the Royal samily, had not the honor of being beheaded, like a person of quality, but as one of the meanest of the people, was hanged and quartered. His quarters were also set up in different towns, as spectacles for the people to gaze at

" Robert Graham, the grand executioner, though not the chief contriver, of the whole villany, was used as his crime deserved; and I am heartily forry that any one of that furname, to whose loyalty and prowess that nation is, upon so many other accounts, very much indebted, should have deserved so rigorous treatment. He was first dragged through the streets in a cart backwards; then his hands (those facrilegious hands which he had lifted up against his Royal master, the Lord's anointed) being fastened in iron hooks, and fixed in a gibbet in the same cart, the most sleshy parts of his naked body, particularly those that are most remote from the vitals or springs of life, as the legs, thighs, and shoulders, were feared by three executioners with burning pincers, and leifurely burnt to the very bones. This done, his body was cut in quarters, and disposed of as those of his accomplices. Such was the natural boldness or ferocity of this perverse man, that being asked how he durst offer to kill his fovereign, he made answer, even when he was under the extremity of pain, and very near breathing out his last, ' That he durst leap out of Heaven and all its joys into the torturing flames of hell;' yet he is by others faid to have made this excuse for himself, that being outlawed and banished by the King, he ceased to be his subject; as if the punishment of former crimes could make after-ones lawful, or the ceating to be a good subject entitled one to be a sovereign; or rather, as if rebellion gave right to commit murder, parricide, facrilege, &c. Such a villanous excuse was fo

fo far from taking with the people, that the following rhime, defigned to express their abhorrence of the fact, became a proverb among them:



Robert Graham, That flew our King, God give him shamen.

Eneas Sylvius, the Pope's Nuncio in Scotland at that time, and who himfelf was made Pope fome years after, faw those dreadful executions with some horror, but more admiration; and faid, 'That he was at a loss to determine whether the crime committed by the regicides, or the punishment inflicted upon them by the justice of the nation, was the greatest.' And this, I take it, is a convincing proof that the nation was very free from the least imputation of guilt." Abercramby, Vol. II. I cannot but add to this long note that I have entirely borrowed, that it is my earnest prayer that Britain may never again experience such a crime or such punishments! both are justly diabolical and detestable.

PART III.

Robert III. King of Scotland.

THIS Prince had the baptismal name of John, but either from the unfortunate reigns of several Kings in Europe so called, or out of regard to the memories of his father and great grandfather, the valiant Bruce, he exchanged it for that of Robert; but the commonalty were pleased to term him Robert John Fernzier, or of the foregoing year.

It is not exactly known in what year he was born, though it is generally fupposed it was before 1235; it might be designedly to hide the want of decorum in his parents, in their refusing to wait until their marriage could be solemnized suitable to their high rank, for, as I have before remarked, it is probable he was born before they were canonically married; however as that ceremony was afterwards performed, it was sufficient to legitimize him*. The canon law, from its humanity, has much to recommend it, and every age is at liberty to retain, or reject, what appears to them most proper. It is evident from the history and records of Scotland, that this prince was adjudged his father's heir apparent, by the nation, by K. David II. and by his own family; nor was it ever disputed

^{*} I cannot but here remark that in the upper part of Eskdale, the singular custom of handsisting has not been disused more than a century: the young people of both sexes assembling at an annual fair, held at the conflux of the White and Black Esk, retired in pairs, cohabited until the next fair, and then, if they approved of their choice, the priest, called "Book in bosom," from his carrying a book always for baptizing and marrying, united them together for life: if one repented, the produce of their commerce was adjudged to him, or her, and each was at liberty to go to "handsisting" again, but the children of those that married were legitimated.

by any foreign nation, not even by the English, who never admitted PART III. the canon law respecting marriages, though they certainly would K. Robert 111. have been highly gratified to have raifed objections, fo that the fuccession might again have been disputed *. However at the coronation of K. Robert II. the Parliament being affembled, an act paffed March 27, 1371, in which his own right of fuccession, as established by King Robert I. was confirmed, and this prince, as heir apparent to the crown, was, in the most folemn and awful manner acknowledged, each person, with hands lifted up, declaring their fincerity. promifed bona fide for themselves, their lawful heirs, and succesfors, to esteem him their King, upon his royal parent's death, and, as fucli, defend him against all manner of persons; and, April 4, 1373, another Parliament, which affembled at Scone, confirmed this his right, and enacted that all the fons of K. Robert, by both his wives, should succeed to the throne, in case the others died failing of lawful iffue +; but all of them thus failing, the true and lawful heirs of the blood and flock royal, from thence forward should succeed in the kingdom, and the right of reigning; as the former of these acts has the seals of 51 spiritual and temporal Peers, and the latter the great feal appendant, with the feals of the eldest Princes. as being of age, and forty-one of the Prelates, Earls, and Barons; amongst whom were some who had claims upon the succession, in case of failure of descendants from their sovereign; and as K. Ro-

^{*} It is true, the English Court would not acknowledge Robert II. as King of Scotland upon his acceffion; but then the Kings of England were accustomed to treat the fucceffors of Baliol as usurpers, as they also did those of France after K. Edward III. claimed that Crown, generally calling the Sovereigns of those kingdoms, in all their public acts, their "adversary of Scotland and France," or after naming one of them, as filling himself King of Scotland or France.

[†] It is remarkable that though each of the fons of K. Robert II. are particularly named in the fecond Act of Succession, no notice whatever is taken of any one of his daughters; perhaps there being so many males, it was thought improbable that they should all fail in leaving posterity; and if they had, the daughters, or their heirs, could have claimed under the general words, as nearest to the stock or blood royal—however, had they been named, it would have ascertained their seniority, which is not known.

PART III. bert's second wise was then living, it cannot be supposed the least

**Robert III. scruple was entertained against the legitimacy of this Prince; but
the reason of these public acts were, as the latter of them expresses
it, because he was desirous to avoid to the utmost of "his power
"the uncertainty of succession, which had formerly happened to
"most kingdoms and parts, and for him and his, as much as may
"be, to prevent it for the future." Such acts had always taken
place in every kingdom, especially when the Crown had gone into
a new family, and as the right of inheritance was not so well defined as at present, it was the more necessary. Scotland had smarted
for want of it, and Robert I. for that reason had done it*.

In his youth he was called John of Kyle; and he was first named in the number of the eldest sons of the highest noblemen in Scotland, who were demanded by, and given as hostages to, K. Edward HI. for securing the payment of K. David's ransom; but his father released him from captivity in 1358, by paying a large sum of money, in part of the debt, and exchanged him for his grandson; he was received by the King, his great-uncle, with affection, for soon afterwards he granted the earldom of Athol to him, and his wife, by the stille of "his beloved cousin, John Steuart, eldest" son to Robert Steuart, of Scotland, his nephew, and Annabel

[•] I cannot but here observe, that K. Robert II.'s contemporary, K. Edward III. after the death of the Prince of Wales, his son, also solemnly in Parliament declared the succession to belong to his grandson, Richard, the only child of the deceased; perhaps these cases were parallel, Edward knew the daring ambition of his son, the Duke of Lancaster, and the danger his grandson might experience: Robert was aware of the weak and infirm state of his heir apparent, and of the activity, capacity, and boundles ambition of his second son. It is well known what sutile arguments had been used by Princes of the blood royal when opportunities offered to seize the seepter; in these ages every nation had witnessed them, and sew more than the British; and among many others, whether the son born before his father was a King, ought to succeed in preference to one born afterwards, because one, they represented, was the son of a private person only, whill the other was born the son of a Sovereign; well, then, might Robert, the first King of his house, be degrous to have his Parliament settle or ratify the succession.

" Drummond, his spouse, or the longest liver of them;" and some PART III. years afterwards he gave him, with the confent of the Parliament, K. Robert III. the earldom of Carric; and at his father's succession he was appointed to the high hereditary office of Steward of the kingdom: he was also constituted a Commissioner for treating of peace with England, who deputed the Earl of Lancaster to meet him. A kick which he received from a horse belonging to Sir James Douglas, of Dalkeith, incapacitated him from taking any military department for several years preceding his father's death: in 1385 he received 5,500 livres of the fum fent to the Scottish Court by France. He was crowned at Scone August 13, 1390, when more than fifty years of age; his name only marks a period in the hiftory of Scotland, for all power was vested in his more active and robust brother, who was his prime minister; he is represented as religious and amiable in private life, but it is evident he was criminally indolent; his life in those military days must have been wretchedly spent; few were the pleasures then to be obtained, except such as only the strong and healthy could partake of; bowed down by years, infirmities, and great domestic misfortunes, he surrendered himself a victim to that tyrant, who is the terror of the fortunate, but the confolation of the wretched, at his Castle of Bothsay, in the Isle of Bute, (a part of his family inheritance) March 29, 1405, forgotten alike by his fubjects, and by the neighbouring nations, after a reign of nearly fifteen years: whilst he sat upon the throne prosperity bleffed his people, owing to his moderation and clemency at home, and the valor and prowess of his brother, the Duke of Albany, abroad. He is faid to have been a very handsome man, when young: his great feal, which is very rudely wrought, gives him with a long beard; his cognizance was a scepte in sattire through a coronet, over which was an orb or mound with an aveline cross, and for a motto, His ornari, aut mori. The body of King Robert III. was interred in the abbey church of Paisley.

PART HI.

The Queen of K. Robert III.

Annabel, Queen of K. Robert III.

King Robert married Annabel, the beautiful daughter of Sir John Drummond, of Stob-Hall, ancestor of the earls of Perth; and was crowned with her husband: she died in 1401, possessing "exem"plary virtue and prudence." Her death was a most severe missortune to the kingdom, and to her family; especially the King, who could neither manage the restless temper of his brother, the Duke of Albany, nor restrain the youthful extravagancies of his eldest son, who broke through the decorum he had maintained whilst she lived, and which in the end was made a pretence to destroy him; the courtiers were grieved at her loss, as the splendor of majesty visible in the palace became by her death extinguished.

The iffue of K. Robert III. by Q. Annabel.

Children of K. Robert III. and Q. Annabel.

- 1. David, eldest son of K. Robert III. was born in the year 1378; and in 1398 he was created Duke of Rothsay*, and Earl of Athol and Carric; it must be remarked, that he was the first of the Scotch Princes who had the title of Duke, and which was given him that he might be upon an equality with the sons of England, who now were advanced to that dignity. In 1397 he, and John, Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, met, each attended by a Bishop, an
- "The reason why Rothsay was fixed as the title for the Princes of Scotland was, because it was the most ancient residence of the Stuart family, they possessing the Isle of Bute, in which Rothsay is situated, for many ages; the castle was a favorite seat of Robert III. It is now in ruins; except a small part, Bute is possessed by the Earl of that title, whose ancestor was a natural son of K. Robert II. as has been, in another place, observed; but Rothsay is still retained as a title appropriated to the heir apparent of the Crown of Scotland, and to which they are born, and is now used as such by the Prince of Wales.

Earl, two Clerks, two Bachelors, and an Esquire, when the truce PART III. between the two kingdoms was prolonged, and it was agreed that children of Ke the prisoners on both sides should be delivered up without ransom; Q. Annabel. but as the truce was ill kept; and those in whose power the prisoners were, refused to restore them to liberty; the Commissioners of the two nations agreed that these illustrious Princes should meet again, to effect what they had before intended; and, in the enfuing year, they had a conference as before, upon the borders, when a continuation of the truce was fixed to remain until Michaelmas 1399. The Duke of Lancaster dying soon after, and his eldest son Henry deposing his Sovereign, Richard II., the Duke of Rothsay was so shocked at his usurpation, that in a letter which he wrote to France, (and which fell into Henry's hands) he stiled him a traitor; in revenge for this, that King determined to invade Scotland, and flattered himself that from the inability of K. Robert, and the divided state of the royal family, he should be able to make a conquest of the whole kingdom; placing himself therefore at the head of a most gallant army, he marched into Scotland, treating the people as fubjects, whom he came to protect, rather than as an enemy or a conqueror, and met with little or no opposition. David, who knew it was impossible for his father to act, with some hundreds of the nobility shut himself up in Edinburgh Castle, resolving to make as vigorous a defence as possible, and which he effected, notwithstanding the attempt of the English monarch to obtain possession of it; to whom he wrote, complaining of two indecent letters which had been fent to the King his father, reflecting upon that Soveteign and his nobility; in it he called him nothing but his "adverfary of " England," and concluded it with offering, to fave the spilling of " Christian blood, to fight him in person, with only three, two, or " even one hundred noblemen of each fide;" to this Henry coldly answered, that "he was surprized the Duke of Rothsay should con-" fider noble blood as not being Christian, fince he defired the " effusion of one, and not of the other." The mortification of the Prince must have been great to perceive himself shut up within a fortress, by an enemy that affumed the stile of his sovereign, more

Robert III. and Q. Annabel.

PART III. than that of a neighbouring King, carrying on a war against the Children of K dominions of his parent; and his grief must have been the more poignant, when his uncle, the Duke of Albany, who commanded a powerful army, refused to fulfil his engagement in attacking the English; by which means the Prince seemed left to his fate; but no argument or force could make him yield, and Henry finding that his obstinate valor defeated all his attempts, agreed to a truce; haftening back to quell the dangerous infurrection which had just broken out in Wales. The conduct of David must have won him the hearts of all Scotland, especially when contrasted with that of the Duke of Albany, who meant to have facrificed him; but this greatly tended to heighten the mutual disobligations between them. In 1441, the death of the Queen, of the Earl of Douglas, and of the Bishop of St. Andrews, broke down the barrier that had restrained their anger, and kept them from an open breach. There was now a contest for the sovereign power, for the King remained, as he long had been, a cypher; David, as his heir apparent, looked upon himself as justly intitled to govern in his name, as he was incapable of doing it himself; but Albany, long accustomed to rule, could not fubmit to take that fituation in the State, which the duty he owed both to his Sovereign and to the Prince demanded .-Soon after this quarrel had become public, the Prince knowing his uncle's power, and that he could not look to the King his father for protection, determined to feek an afylum in St. Andrew's, though defenceless, owing to the See being vacant; but in his way thither, the Duke of Albany, and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Douglas, furprised him, and after an arrest, the latter took from him his sword, and he was obliged to exchange his splendid dress for a mean russet cloak, and to mount a forry horse, and in that guise to be conducted to the place, where he hoped to have found a shelter from his danger; from thence he was removed to the Castle of Falkland, belonging to his uncle: here he is faid to have endured hardships that make human nature shudder; for though it is acknowledged that he had, at least at first, an apartment suitable to his high rank, yet he foon was denied the necessaries of life, and left to die with

hunger; for the Deputy Governor deprived him of all sustenance; PART III. but for fome time his wretched life was prolonged; the dreadful children of K. and piercing cries of hunger, which pervaded the apartments of Rob. III. and O. Annabel. the place, melted the hearts of the governor's daughter, a young lady, and a matron near, who daily relieved him, the former by taking him oaten cakes, concealed under a veil, which she wore under pretence of defending her from the rays of the fun; and, when going by that part of the castle where he was confined, sliding them through the chinks of the wall, which admitted a feeble light into his apartment; and the other, who was a nurse, contrived to give him milk from her breafts, conveyed by a tube; but as the Cerberus could not long be thus deceived, he caused the place to be watched, and discovering to whose humanity the prisoner's sufferings were prolonged, he had the ferocious favageness to put them to death, though one was his own child; no person therefore afterwards was hardy enough to obey the dictates of compassion, and the princely captive, after feeding upon his own flesh, soon perished. This relation is given by the enemies of the Duke: on the contrary, his friends urge, that as the King permitted the Prince to be arrested. and gave that power to the Duke, he could not be blamed for using the authority delegated to him; and though fome allow he died in confinement, yet they are not fatisfied that it was by violence; for, fay they, no cotemporary author mentions such a circumstance; but if they had, as the Duke submitted to a trial, and was acquitted, and was even defirous of having the authors of his death punished, and that he actually had the culprits executed, so it freed him from all obloquy: neither of these classes of authors lament his death, only the manner of it; because his conduct was so reprehensible, that his brother-in-law, as well as his uncle, were concerned in his difgrace, though it must have been to the interest of the Earl of Douglas that the Kings of Scotland should descend from his fifter, the wife of the Prince. In answer to these arguments, it must be observed, that I do not find any proof that the King did give a commission to impower his uncle to have the Prince arrested; but if fuch had been, who prejudiced him against his son? and, in whose

PART III. power was the weak infirm monarch? certainly he did not permit Robert III. and Q. Annabel.

Children of K. that his fon should be difgraced, and dragged to prison as a mean culprit, much less agree to have him undergo miseries which the worst of prisoners never experienced. That he died in prison cannot be denied, the fact is incontrovertible, and in the caffle that belonged to Albany; and when an heir apparent dies in the cuftody of an ambitious Prince, who has great power, and is not far removed from the Crown, it must always raise suspicions that are difficult to remove: his Deputy Governor of Falkland Castle would not have dared to have put the Heir Apparent of the Crown to death, unless he had been instigated to it by his employer; that Albany should so far forget every principle of humanity as to let him die of hunger, when his dreadful cries would last for days, and by that mean proclaim his nefarious wickedness to all within, and near the castle, where he perished, is seemingly incredible; self-interest, if not compassion, would have prevented so wanton a cruelty; but it must be remarked, that if he had told his fervant to put him to death, without mentioning in what way, the wretch might please his cruelty in the manner that is mentioned, though it was highly impolitic to have done it: fuch transactions the history of every nation prefents; and though the relators mention always the precise manner, yet every one knows that nothing is more difficult to obtain than the . truth: how it was effected in this instance, however, the trials of the offenders might be supposed to afford a full proof. It has been said that the contemporary authors have not criminated Albany; but is it usual for writers to accuse those vested with the government, of the most flagitious crimes? Does any writer dare to give a true relation of the death of the late Emperor? Winton, who lived at the time, fays, the Prince was worn out by a dysentery, or by hunger; if by hunger, whose fault was it? Who was to supply him with food? Besides, the Regent Albany was the friend and patron of Winton. But the Harleian M.SS. of Fordun, and his continuator Bower himfelf, fays that he wrote in 1441, and which is confirmed by the manufcript called The Black Book of Paifley, carried by Lord Fairfax from Scotland. That K. Robert judged Albany guilty of his fon's death, appears.

from his permitting him to be tried for the crime, and by his fending PART UL. his other fon out of the kingdom, which undeniably shews his fear Children of K. for the fafety of the youngest Prince; for nothing but imminent Rob. 111. and Q. Annabel. danger, or the fear of it, could induce a father to fend his then only fon to a foreign court for protection; and of whom could he be afraid, but his ambitious brother? As to Albany's submitting to trial, and his acquittal, these are no proofs of innocence; what risk does that Prince run in going to his trial, who has the command of the kingdom? He feared it no more than Bothwell did his. Nor does his bringing forth the actual perpetrators of the wickedness, and giving them up to justice, exculpate him from having ordered them to do the deed: there are ways of defiring fuch acts to be performed, that the perpetrators themselves cannot bring any proof of; and as to any regard that fuch instigators have for the tools of their bad actions, that is out of the question; the traitor is always hated; and throwing the blame upon them, to fatisfy the people, is what has been frequently practifed. There feems to have been no proof of the dissoluteness of manners in the Prince, to justify his imprisonment, much less to put him to death: he had shewed himfelf a good negociator and patriot; he has been accused of violating maids, wives, and nuns; but one intrigue "only" is specified; few Heirs Apparent, few Princes would be deemed fit to go free if fuch a plea was urged as a reason for detention; but instead of the gallantries of the Prince being the reason of his imprisonment, fome lay it to the villany of John Ramorgny, who, having told him that the Duke his uncle intended to destroy him, promised to prevent it by taking him off; but this David objecting to, the wretch told the same story to Albany, who, to save himself, punished his nephew. If this is true, it unravels the affair, and clears the Prince's character; even highly raifes it, by shewing himself superior to a deceitful violence, even against an enemy, whom he was led to suspect of baseness towards him. The Duke's character finds no protection from the Earl of Douglas's affifting in arrefting David, for the manner of doing it shewed in that nobleman a particular defign to add cruelty to infult: that court intrigue should make

PART III. Douglas declare for the uncle in preference to the nephew, is nothing Rob. III. and

Children of K. wonderful; his was a family not always loval, or always guided by justice, as the history of many reigns convinces us. The Prince having arrived at manhood, eclipfed Albany both in the civil and military department, and by that means rendered him almost a cypher, therefore the moment he faw his rival defenceless, by the deaths of three persons who only could protect him, either with an extorted commission, or without one, forcibly seized upon, and fent him a prisoner to his own castle, under the command of one of his creatures, in whose power he miserably perished; but finding the King and his subjects loudly demanding justice, he submitted to a mock trial, and permitted the persons whom he employed to be led to execution; that they might by their facrifice free him from all appearance of having commanded them, by indirect means, to rid him of a dangerous rival, an active Prince, who, by his birth and abilities, would have possessed himself of what the laws of his country gave him, and whose penetration would have taught him that his father's prerogatives had been usurped by an artful and ambitious brother; who, it must be confessed, at every period of his life shewed a boundless ambition, which continued to him until his death; and who, if he did not aim at the Crown, was determined never to quit possession of the sceptre *. That David, with all his virtues, might be too much devoted to the pleasures of fenfuality, I will not deny, though I am far from having proofs of it, but an honest abhorrence of duplicity towards a formidable rival (skilled in all the wiles of courts), and some degree of rashness, so

^{*} The Duke of Albany was undoubtedly ambitious to the extreme, and as able as ambitious, his nephew's inexperience therefore flood little chance in a contest between them; the former, it is allowed, meant to facrifice him, when K. Henry IV. befieged him in Edinburgh Castle; he knew this would never have been forgiven; and though no author, I think, hints it, yet it is not impossible but that those who had the care of conducting Prince James, his other nephew, into France, might have been bribed by him with the concurrence of K. Henry to land him upon the English coasts: it was the interest of both him and K. Henry to have it fo; the former deprived by it a brother from revenging David's death, and beside, kept the sovereign authority under the name of Regent; and Henry had a pledge to keep Scotland quiet.

natural to youth, feems to be the rocks upon which he was wrecked; PART III. for it is not confistent with reason that the Prince, who violated the children of K. chastity of women, even of those dedicated to religion, should have Q. Annabel. his memory held in fuch veneration by his countrymen, as to be thought by them one of the "beatified;" and that at his grave, in the church of Lindores, it should be believed that miracles should have been wrought; this circumstance evinces that his faults were only fuch as young Princes of his rank usually fall into; and that knowing his merit, it called forth the regard of the common people, and his fate their compassion, and both together imposed upon their credulity, fo that they adjudged him a faint. His faving Edinburgh Castle from capitulation, and perhaps the nation from falling into the hands of its then national enemies, place his fervices to his country in a most conspicuous point of view. These pages are due to his exalted birth, his worth, and his almost unparalleled misfortunes.

Prince David was affianced to Janet, only daughter of George, Earl of March, and this with his father's confent; part of the marriage portion was actually paid by that nobleman *, but Archibald, Earl of Douglas, difpleafed with the preference to his fifter Marjory, daughter of another Archibald, who had poffeffed that title, offered her, with a larger fortune, and she was accepted, to the difgrace of K. Robert, or rather of Albany, the real Governor of the kingdom: March revolted, and in the hands of the English was a cruel thorn in the side of his country; Douglas saw in the end his aims defeated, by the premature death of the Prince without legal issue; and to add to his mortification, he lost a vast sum of money that he had spent to procure that marriage; a suitable reward for his unjustissable conduct towards David, though it may be allowed, that if he meant to abase, he might not intend to ruin him.

^{*} Janet, daughter of the Earl of March, was married after the Prince refused her hand, first to John Lord Scton, and secondly, to Sir Adam Johnson, of the place of that name.

- PART III. Children of K. Rob. 111. and Q. Annabel. John, or Donald 11. 2d fon of K. Robert & Q. Annabel. who fucceeded Margaret, eld-K. Robert 111. bel.
- 2. John, or, as Lefly calls him, Donald, who died young.
- 3. King James I. of whom in the next fection.
- 4. Margaret, who was married to Archibald, fourth Earl of James, 3d fon, Douglas, brother to the lady whom her brother Prince David had to the Crown, married. At this time the family of Douglas was little inferior in eft daughter of power or revenue to that of Stuart, possessing, I think, at one and Q. Anna- time the Earldoms of Douglas, Ormond, Murray and Wigton; and there have at a later period been of the name Dukes of Queensbury and Hamilton, Earls of Morton, March, and Dunbarton, Lord Mordington, with other creations, both Scotch, English, and French. This nobleman was Lord of Bothwell, Galloway and Annandale, and Earl of Douglas; he was in high favour with Robert, Duke of Albany, the Regent of Scotland: he inherited the bravery of his ancestors, distinguishing himself at the battle of Homildon, fought in 1402, where he lost an eye, and his liberty; but recovering the latter, he was stationed to defend the Castle of Edinburgh against K. Henry IV. in 1409, and in 1420 the Earl broke into England, where he did incredible mischief, and having burnt Alnwick, he returned with great spoil. He was held in such high estimation by the public, that in 1423 he had the command of an army of 10,000 men, fent to affift K. Charles VII. of France in his wars with the English; which Monarch, for the important fervices he rendered the kingdom, created him Duke of Terouane, and gave him the staff of a Marishal of France. His fate was decided in 1424 at the battle of Vernoil, bravely fighting against John, Duke of Bedford, brother to K. Henry V. of England; and his body, with that of his heroic fon-in-law, the Earl of Buchan, was deposited with the utmost folemnity in the church of St. Gratian in Tournay. It is not known whether the Princess survived Lord Douglas; but if the did, the must have been much in years, as her children were grown up, and fome or all of them were married at the time of their father's death. The Princess was buried in the chancel of the church belonging to the Abbey of Lincheden. Mr.

Pennant speaks thus of her tomb :-- "Her effigy, at full length, PART III. " lay on the stone, her head resting on two cushions; but the children of K. "figure is now mutilated; and her bones, till lately, were fcat-Q. Annabel. " tered about in a most indecent manner by some wretches, who " broke open the repository in search of treasure. The tomb is in " form of an arch, with all parts most beautifully carved; on the " middle of the arch is the heart, the Douglas arms, guarded by " three chalices fet crofs-ways, with a ftar near each, and certain " letters I could not read. On the wall is inscribed, A L'AIDE " DE DIEU; and at some distance beneath, HIC JACET DNA " MARGARETA REGIS SCOTICE FILIA QUODAM COMITISSA DE "Douglas DNA GALLOVIDIÆ ET VALLIS ANNANDIÆ. In the " front of the tomb are nine shields, containing as many arms: in " one are the three stars, the original coat of this great house, for the heart was not added till the good Sir James was employed in " carrying that of Robert Bruce to the Holy Land; besides are the " arms after that event, and also their arms as Lords of Annandale, "Galloway and Liddesdale. Near the tomb is a door-case richly " ornamented with a carving, and on the top the heart and chalices " as in the former." Mr. Pennant has accompanied this curious description with an engraving. The issue of the Princess by the Earl of Douglas was two fons and four daughters; 1. Archibald, who, in his father's life-time, bore the title of Lord Wigton, and upon his death fucceeded him in those of Earl of Douglas, Lord of Bothwell, Galloway and Annandale, and Duke of Terouane, and obtained also that of Count de Longueville, and was made a Marishal of France, which kingdom he greatly affisted in her wars with England, going over in 1419 with the brave Earl of Buchan, his brother-in-law, and returned in 1422, to levy troops to transport over, but falling ill, he could not go with them. In 1424, he was fent as head of the embaffy to procure the restoration of his Sovereign K. James I. with whom he returned: he was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and Governor of Scotland in the minority of that Monarch's fuccessor, and died in 1440. 2. James, Earl of Abercarn. and Lord Balverie, who, upon the affaffination of the only two

Rob. 111. and Q. Annabel.

PART III. fons of his brother in Edinburgh Castle, succeeded to the titles of children of K. Earl of Douglas, Duke of Terouane, &c. He was furnamed the Gross, was a Warden of the Marshes in the reign of K. James II. and by Beatrix, daughter of Robert, and fifter to Murdoch, Dukes of Albany, and Governors of Scotland, (the latter of whom filled him in his charter, dilectus frater meus) the future Earls descended. 3. Margaret, married to William, Earl of Orkney, A. Elizabeth, to John Stuart, Earl of Buchan, Constable of France, and Chamberlain of Scotland. 5. Helen, to Alexander Lauder, of Hatton: and 6. Mary, to Sir John Glendoning, of the place of that name.

Mary, younger daughter of K. Q. Annabel.

5. Mary, of whom we know nothing but the name, and that she Rob. III. and married, first to Sir James Kennedy, whose father, Sir Gilbert, was then living; but he, in confideration of this his fon's marrying the daughter of his Sovereign, preferred him to his eldeft fon Gilbert, which occasioned such a bitter animosity between them, that the latter killed him. K. Robert III. gave Sir James a charter of confirmation of the bailiary of Carric, to be "caput totius profapia," and to command the militia of that diffrict; the King calls him his "beloved relation," in a fubfequent charter, dated at Dundonald in 1405, by which his Majesty confirms the lands and barony of Dalrymple to him, and Mary Stuart, the King's daughter, "his spouse," so that it in some measure not only identifies the marriage, but ascertains the time when he was living, and her husband; probably he did not long furvive that date, owing to his brother's revengeful violence: by the Princess he had two sons, 1. Gilbert, Lord Kennedy, who was highly honoured by K. James II. and was one of the fix Governors of Scotland in the minority of K. James III. By Agnes, daughter of Herbert, Lord Maxwell, he was ancestor of the Earls of Cassilis. 2. James, successively Bithop of Dunkeld and St. Andrew's, Privy Counfellor to K. James II. Chancellor of Scotland in that reign, and one of the Regents of the kingdom in the minority of K. James III. He died in 1466, having founded and endowed the College of St. Salvator, in the Univerfity of St. Andrew's, with equal piety and

munificence; none exceeded him in power or integrity, " he was PART III. " lamented at his death as a public parent." The family of children of K. Kennedy, as descending from a daughter of Scotland, are per- O. Annabel. mitted to bear their coat of arms within a double treffure. The Princels Mary became, after Sir James Kennedy's premature death, fecond wife to William Lord Graham, of Kincarn, Ambassador (with the Earls of Crawford and Mar) to K. Henry IV. of England, to fettle the terms of peace between the British kingdoms; he was also, in many other instances, greatly trusted by the kings and governors of Scotland: from Murdoch he obtained several charters to him, and "Mariota Stewart forori regis;" the last of them is dated in 1424, in which year he died, leaving five fons, all mentioned in one of these charters, dated in 1421: they were, 1. Sir Robert Graham of Strathcarron, ancestor of those of Fintray, Claver-house, &c. 2. Patrick, the learned and pious Bishop of Brechin, and afterwards of St. Andrews, who died in the Castle of Lochlevin in 1478. 3. William, ancestor of the Grahams of Garvoch and Balgowan. 4. Harry; and 5. Walter of Wallacetown, ancestor of the Grahams of Knockdolian, and other places. The ducal family of Montrose is descended from a son of Sir William, Lord Graham, by a former wife. Most authors fay, that the Princess, when a widow to Lord Graham, married to Sir William Edmiston, of Duntreath *.

^{*} It is fingular, that in the hiftories and peerages of Scotland, we find only one daughter of K. Robert III. mentioned, to whom they give as hufbands, the Earl of Douglas, Sir James Kennedy, Lord Graham, and Sir William Edmifton; but this chronology and genealogy refute, as also the names varying in the inscription upon the tomb of the Earl of Douglas's wife, the daughter of this king, who is called Margaret, and in the charter given to Sir James Kennedy, his wife (also the daughter of that potentate) is called Mary; so that this evinces K. Robert III. had at least two daughters, and Mariota is not accounted the same name as Mary in Scotland. I should suspect that Robert had a third daughter, who had only the Lord Graham for her husband, unless it was a question of dispute which of the daughters was married to Sir William Edmiston. No Scotch historian or genealogist has, that I know of, cleared up so much as I have of the semale issue of this king; perhaps some sutrue antiquarian, by inspecting ancient charters, may be able to ascertain how many



A Natural Child of K. Robert III.

Sir John Stuart,
natural fon of
K. Robert III. of Blackhall, whose only child, Margaret, was the second wife of
Duncan Campbel, of Lochaw, ancestor by her of the Campbels of
Achinbreak, Ellengrey and Ottar.

daughters Robert had, and to whom they married; but it is fingular that the histories of the Douglas and Kennedy families are not more accurate in what so greatly adds to their honour.

PART IV.

Janes I. King of Scotland.

KING JAMES I. was born in the year 1393, and was defigned K. James I. to be fent into France for education, or rather to be out of the power of his cruel and ambitious uncle, the Duke of Albany; but landing in England, he was most ungenerously detained by K. Henry IV. and he continued a prisoner during the remainder of that reign, the whole of K. Henry V.'s, and part of his fucceffor's, a space of eighteen years; he was even led by King Henry V. against his own subjects, and their allies, during his wars in France; nor was he fuffered to leave England until he agreed to pay the enormous fum of 40,000l. under a pretence of its having been incurred in educating and maintaining him; but however difagreeable his captivity, it was attended with the happiest effects to himfelf and his fubjects, for all imaginable pains were taken with his education, and he taught the Scots the bleffings of a civil government; from which cause it was faid, they made their former kings, " but he made that people a nation." James was crowned with his Queen at Scone in May 1424, at which time he was in the twentyfeventh year of his age. He was affaffinated in his bedchamber at Roxburgh, in the evening of February 21, 1437-8, by the Earl of Athol, his uncle, and others, when he had lived forty-three years, and reigned thirteen. 'His remains were deposited in the church of the Charter-house in Perth, of his own foundation; and in detestation of his murder, the dress he wore when he was killed was preferved and shewn to strangers for some ages afterwards; that by the multiplicity of wounds it bore evidence to the spectators, who might learn the cruel violence of his unnatural relations. James

PART IV. was undoubtedly the wifelt prince, not only of his own, but of K. James I. any other family, that ever fat upon the throne of Scotland. Educated in the court of Harry V. of England, the most powerful Sovereign in Europe, and accustomed to the splendour of royalty, and to view a well regulated government, what must have been his feelings, when restored to that throne which had lost, whilst it remained in the hands of his relations, the little lustre it had ever poffeffed? Undifmayed, however, he determined to brave every danger to effect, what feemed almost impossible to correct, not only the errors of his predeceffors, but to make his fubjects happy, in giving them wife and equal laws, fuch as the Southern inhabitants of the island were blessed with, and to soften the rude manners of the Scots, and render them deferving of his paternal care; fo that he may be justly stiled the restorer, the civilizer, and legislator of his country; and the grief and refentment Scotland shewed at his death, prove the value she entertained for his uncommon worth. The Czar of Mukovy reformed the manners of his subjects, but remained himself a barbarian. James was skilled in all those accomplishments that adorned the most elegant of his contemporaries, excelling in riding, wreftling, justing at the tournaments, archery, and the use of warlike weapons: he spoke English and French fluently, and understood the Latin language: he was not only a judge of, but a fine performer of music, especially on the harp: and Scotland owed the use of the organ in her sacred edifices to him; he greatly loved the choral fervice, and was supposed the finest finger in his dominions. James also had a taste for the muses, and wrote feveral pieces of poetry; he was author of the humorous ballad called "Christ's Kirk on the Grene," a Poetical Address to the Princess, whom he afterwards married, and some other things; and he and his Queen introduced many of the elegancies of the English Court into Scotland, which were alike unknown, and disrelished by a rude people, prejudiced in favour of their ancient uncultivated manners. "He was," fays Abercromby, "in con-" versation familiar and easy; in deportment grave, but not " austere; his passions were moderate, his religion sincere, and his

courage unquestionable. His faith was without superstition; he PART IV. " founded and endowed a monastery at Perth for the Carthusians, K. James I. " yet knew that excess was weakness, always expressing his opinion of his predecessor, K. David I. that he was, from his prodigality " to the church, a fore faint for the Crown." James should perhaps have waited to teach his subjects refinement more gradually; because, without a force sufficient to have used coercive means, it was impossible in a few years to have effected his benevolent purposes. His feverity has been blamed; 3000 of the banditti were executed by him. Scotland was so overgrown with violent humours, that it was necessary to part with some of the ill blood that nourished them; but his destroying so many of the Princes of the Albany branch was cruel; justice should ever be tempered with mercy; but severe as he was, it is impossible to believe the Major when he relates, that he used to tell his Queen, that " he would not leave a man in Scot-" land alive, who might not in point of consanguinity go to bed to " her." In his person he was finely formed, and all the features of his face were handsome; and though below the middle fize, he excelled in martial and robust exercises, none of his Court having power to hurl a stone or bullet of equal weight so far as he could; and he often out-ran the swiftest of his pages. His Great Seal is copied in the defign from that of Robert, Duke of Albany, only the arms of Scotland are on both fides the throne, and the four following Sovereigns had theirs without any variety. His devices or cognizances were, a crown lying upon the ground, from which arose a sword and a cross, with this motto, " Pro lege, et grege;" his other was a branch of thiftles, with a fprig of rue, and "Pour ma defence."

The Queen of K. James I.

James I. married Joan, eldest daughter of John, Earl of Somer- Joan, Queen of K. James I. fet, by Margaret, daughter of John Holland, Earl of Kent, maternal brother to K. Richard II. The Queen's father was the fon of

PART IV. John, Earl of Lancaster, who assumed for some time the title of Joan, Queen of King of Castile; and her grandsather was Edward III. King of England; fo that she was nearly allied to K. Henry VI. then upon the Anglican throne. This match was effected by her uncle, Henry Beaufort, the rich Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, whose aim was to strengthen and support himself and family at Court; and he procured the confent of the Scottish nation, and offered what became the marriage portion, which was rated at 10,000l. but it was detained under pretence of paying part of the expences of the King her husband during his residence in England. It is remarkable, that defirous as the English were for a matrimonial alliance, yet they would not mention the subject, from a delicacy that is highly pleafing; for in the inftructions given to the Commissioners who met at Pontefract, prior to the King's liberation, it was given them in charge, that "if the Scotch Ambassadors should talk of a marriage " between their King and some English lady, to tell them that he " himself is acquainted not only with several Unglish ladies of high birth, but also with Princesses of the blood royal, and that he " may make his own choice; but if the Scots should make no such " proposal, to be very cautious in that respect, because the women of England are not wont to make the first addresses of that kind " to men." Joan, or, as the Scotch called her, Jean, was married in the church of the Priory of St. Mary's Overy, in Southwark, Feb. 2, 1424; fhe was conducted to the borders of Scotland by her father, the Cardinal her uncle, and a numerous train of attendants; and was crowned with James, whom the accompanied in all his many excursions and enterprizes, conducting herself so well during his life, that the feemed deferving to estimable a Prince. Their court was always numerous, and a folendour unknown before was every where visible about it; she took equal pains in refining the female part of her subjects, as the King her consort did the men. Her heroic love to him was exemplified by the noble manner in which she endeavoured to preserve him against his assaffins, covering at that time his body with her own; nor would fhe quit him until forced to it, by having received two wounds herfelf.

After the King's death, the refided chiefly in Stirling, endeavouring PART IV. however to have the care of the young Sovereign, her fon, during Joan, Queen of. his minority, and to govern the kingdom alfo; but finding herfelf precluded from the royal presence, she laid a plot to get the infant potentate out of the hands of the Chancellor Crighton; for this purpose she requested leave to pass some time with James in Edinburgh Castle, where he was, previous to her going to the White Kirk of Buchan in pilgrimage, to offer up prayers and vows for the King's health: fuch a request the Chancellor thought could not be refused; she was admitted with her attendants, and their baggage; as her whole conduct was fuch as feemed only what might be expected from a mother to a fon, under the tuition of a guardian; and as she had no attendants with her that could give the least alarm to Crighton's fears, he seemed perfectly satisfied with her presence, giving every possible freedom for the few days she remained there. She however in private gained the good opinion of her fon, and perfuaded him that he was a prisoner, and ought to rejoice in the opportunity that maternal affection was defirous to procure for him, to effect his escape; to this he listened with avidity. Finding that she had obtained his approbation in her contrivance, she told the Chancellor that she should remain only one night longer, requesting him to continue his care of the young King, whom the would again visit in her return from her pilgrimage; his lordship professed all dutiful attention to his illustrious ward, and respect to her person; therefore parting, each going to their repose, as he thought, she went to the apartment of her fon, and prevailed upon him, as had been agreed, to fuffer himself to be placed in one of the large trunks, which she had purposely brought with her, and in whichhe was conveyed out of the castle as part of the Queen's baggage, the case of it having been given to a trusty fervant, who placing it upon a fumpter horse, carried it to Lieth, and put it in a vessel that conveyed it fafe to Stirling, where it was received by Sir Alexander Levington, her Governor; who opened it to the no small diversion of those who received the royal person thus humorously packed up. Now, having the Sovereign with her, by fometimes

agreeing with one, and at others with the opposite party, she pos-Joan, Queen of fessed no inconsiderable power, until an imprudent second marriage K. James 1. rendered her much less regarded. The person who had captivated the Queen was Sir James Stuart, called the Black Knight of Lorn, third fon of John, Lord Innermeath and Lorn, descended from the great grandfather of Robert II. As Sir James was more fwayed by ambition than regard for either her person or dowry, his sole aim was to obtain by this alliance the possession of the person of the minor King; flattering himself, that if he carried his point, he should be able to govern both him and his dominions, according to the manners prevailing in that kingdom; for whoever feized upon the King when he was under tuition, either by open violence or stratagem, fanctioned their administration by the name of the Monarch, however averse he was to them, or their measures: but his prefumption met its reward, his ambitious hopes proved futile, and he drew upon the Queen and himself the rage of the powerful and indignant Douglas, who fent them, with his brother Sir William Stuart, to prison. Her Majesty was confined in a small apartment in Stirling Castle, and watched with the greatest circumspection, knowing how she had by a stratagem excited the laughter of all Scotland against the Chancellor. The brothers were worse dealt with; they were loaded with irons in a common prison; but after fome months confinement they obtained their liberty, by the mediation of the Chancellor and Lord Gordon, who became fureties for their good behaviour. However, she was obliged to clear herfelf personally before an affembly of nobles, and the brothers were precluded from accepting any place under the government, without leave expressly granted to them. But as the Queen was not one of those faints who triumph in perfecution, she meditated a fevere revenge for the infult she had received; she had once obtained the person of the King her son; she had again, whilst a prisoner at Stirling, gained the young Monarch's confidence, who warmly entered into the measures of his mother; a plan was laid, and happily effected; for whilst the King was hunting slenderly attended near Stirling, he was furrounded by 4000 men, fent thither by

Chancellor Crighton at the folicitation of the Queen, who refcued PARTIV. James, and conducted him to Edinburgh. This appears the last Joan, Queen of public transaction of her Majesty, she dying July 15, 1445, in the Castle of Dunbar, whither she had retired for protection, and which Lord Hales, its Governor, afforded to her: she was buried by the remains of the King her husband. The disappointed confort of a Queen Dowager was not to be taught wisdom by experience; Sir James took little pains to stifle his fentiments, which rendered him fo obnoxious to the ministry, that he found it expedient to leave the kingdom; but fearing falling into the hands of the English, he obtained a pass from K. Henry VI. dated Nov. 24, 1445, in which he is called "James Stuart, late husband of the deceased Queen of Scotland," and in it is included his fon James, Will. Dickfon, and twenty others: but whilft he fought protection against enemies in Britain, he fell into the hands of others; for, as if purfued by an evil destiny, he was seized in his passage to Flanders by some pirates of that country, in whose custody he died. By Sir James Stuart the Queen had three fons; 1. Sir John, created by his uterine brother, K. James II. Earl of Athol, who, as well as his fuccessor, highly valued him for his loyalty, wisdom, and valour: he died at a great age in 1512. The title failing in his male posterity, it has come by an heirefs into the family of Murray, and Athol is now raifed to the fuperior rank of a dukedom. 2. Sir James Stuart, whom K. James III. created Earl of Buchan, with other inferior titles, and granted him also many estates; he was faithfully attached to that unfortunate Monarch, whose violent death he highly resented. This nobleman died before the year 1400, having filled many important posts with fingular discretion and honour. The title of Buchan by an heir general came into a branch of the Douglases, and is now vested by another in the samily of Erskine. 3. Andrew, who became Dean, and in 1483 was confecrated Bilhop of Murray; he was also Privy Seal. His death happened in 1498.

PART IV.

Children of K. James I. and Q. Joan.

Children of K. James I. and Q. Joan.

Alexander, elder of defined for of K. Holy-rood-house, October 16, 1430, and died in his infancy.

James, who succeeded to the cooking afterwards King James II. See the following section.

3. Margaret, who obtained a higher rank than any daughter of Margaret, eldeft daughter. Scotland ever had before, for the became dauphiness, and would, had she lived, been Queen of France: the high estimation the King her father was held in, procured her this splendid alliance; for before this time what from the rudeness of the people, and the poverty of the kingdom, the first powers in Europe did not seek matrimonial alliances with the Scots: but Charles VII. King of France, pleafed to acquire the friendship of James, whose subjects had often so greatly affifted in fecuring the crown to him, when grasped at by the Plantagenets; and to detach him from their alliance, fent over, in 1428, the Archbishop of Rheims, the first Peer in France, and Sir John Stewart of Darnley, Earl of Evreux in that Kingdom, who proposed a treaty to cement the ancient friendship of the two nations, which was accepted: by it, this Princess was to be given in marriage to Lewis the dauphin, and that if she became Queen, she was to have as large a dowry as any former one had ever enjoyed; but if the should not, one of 15,000 livres: conditioning also that if the dauphin should die before consummation of the marriage, then a fecond fon of France, or the next heir to the crown, should marry her if she lived; if not, that her second fister, or others in succession, should be substituted in her stead, provided that the parties did not exceed the others in age feven years. If the dauphin's death fhould prevent the nuptials, the Princess was to have for her "charges and loss " 40,000 crowns of gold, and it was agreed that if either of the monarchs broke the agreement, he, as agressor, should pay the

other 100,000 crowns. This was a most advantageous treaty to PARTIV. Scotland, especially as in return for it, she was only to give, in lieu children of K. of a marriage fortune, 6000 men, to supply those Scots who had Q. Joan. been swept off in the wars Charles had carried on with England; and yet the King of France was fo pleased with the success of the nagociation, that he conferred upon James and his heirs male, the county of Xaintonge and the lordship of Rochefort on the Charente, permitting him or them to do their homage by a relation as their deputy; stipulating however, that if he chose, when he had freed his dominions from the English, to exchange these territories for either the dukedom of Berry, or the county of Evreux. Though the English highly refented this treaty, and it was said even offered to marry their young fovereign to the princess if it was broken through, and threatened war in case of refusal, James sent over the stipulated troops to France, and fulfilled the other part of his engagements in having the Princess conducted thither. She was most royally attended, for in her train were many of the nobility, prelates, knights and others, with no less than 140 ladies, all of noble birth, and most of them unmarried, embarking on board a squadron of forty thips. The number of veffels, we may prefume, was from the fear of falling into the hands of the English, whose power was very great at fea, and whose fleet was avowedly fent out to intercept the bride: however, happily for her, by steering along by the western coast, they landed fafely at Rochelle, whilst the English suffered a defeat by the fleet of Castile, which they had attacked, mistaking it for that of Scotland. The marriage was folemnized with great magnificence at Tours, July 6, 1435, the dauphin having compleated the fourteenth, and she the twelfth year of her age: but as that was too early, according to the Roman ritual, a dispensation was procured by the archbishop of the see in which they were married. Margaret was greatly beloved by her father-in-law K. Charles, and revered by all France, except her husband, who, though he esteemed her virtues, never loved her person. It is averred that his objection to her was because her breath did not exhale perfume, and it is generally supposed that he never consummated the marriage. She died

James 1. and Q.

PART IV. before he succeeded to the crown, at Chalons-sur-Mane, from cha-Children of K. grin at his behavior, and because some aspersions had been cast upon her character, which we cannot but confider false, for she was univerfally respected; and Lewis, though one of the most odious characters that Christendom presents to our view, had so much regard for her memory as to remove her corps from the church of Chalons to the abbey church of Laon. Though she was so young at her death, there is an anecdote that does honor to her fensibility and taste, and evinces that she distinguished herself by her patronage of men of genius, whom she much admired. Passing Alain Chartier, (who was equally careffed for his wit and shuned for his ugliness) when fleeping she kiffed him; perceiving the astonishment of her ladies, she said: " it is not the man whom I kissed, but the mouth " whence have proceeded fo many elevated fentiments." Margaret's marriage, though it was attended with little satisfaction to herself. was of great advantage to her family, as it raised their honor by so fplendid an alliance, and procured three of her fifters princely husbands when before it was usual to give the daughters of the Scottish Sovereigns to the nobility; nor do I know that before this reign they were dignified with any higher title than that of lady : but James I. affumed and received more grandeur than his predecesfors; even the English, never lavish in their respects to the Kings of Scotland, stiled him the most high and potent Prince James, by the grace of God. King of Scotland: the modest simplicity of ancient times, by James's education, gave way to the more pompous manners he had feen in England and France.

4. Elizabeth, who became the fecond wife of Francis I. duke of Elizabeth, 2d daughter. Bretagne, she was married in the year 1441.

Jean,3d daughicr.

5. Jean, whom it was defigned should marry to the eldest son, and heir to the duke of Savoy, who, dying before the nuptials were celebrated, she married, first, James, third earl of Angus, one of the conservators of the peace between the British kingdoms, but he leaving her a widow, she had, for her second husband, James Lord

OF THE STUART FAMILY.

Dalkeith. K. James II. probably from this marriage with his fifler, declared, March 14, 1456-7, by his chancellor to the parliament, children that he had nominated and creeted "the noble and potent Lord James I and Q-James Douglas of Dalkeith, an Earl by the title of Earl of Morton;" but William Lord Borthwick in the name of his fifter Janet, lady Dalkeith, this nobleman's mother-in-law, petitioning the King before the three estates of the realm, that this stile might not injure her son in the lands he possessed in Morton: the chancellor replied, that it could not prejudice her, as this title related to Morton in Calderclear, and not in the place of that name fituated in Nithisdale, where her estates were. May 15, 1460, the same Sovereign passed a grant of lands of Easter and Wester-Balbarton, and in 1465, gave him a charter for other premises in Woodfield; the former gives it Jacobo comite de Morton & Joanna sua, sorori nostria carissimæ. The iffue of this marriage was John, fecond Earl of Morton; and Janet, the wife of Patrick Hepburn, the first Earl of Bothwell, and afterwards of Thomas Lord Erskine, ancestor of the Earls of Mar. The Princess Janet, a third time married to George, second Earl of Huntley, a nobleman who made a conspicuous figure in the courts of K. James III. and IV in the name of the last-named Prince he received the feals, which he held from 1498 to 1502, and died in 1507,* leaving by Janet four fons and fix daughters. 1. Alexander, third Earl of Huntley, ancestor to the Dukes of Gordon. 2. Sir Adam Gordon of Aboyne, who, by his marriage with Elizabeth Counte's of Sutherland, was progenitor of the noblemen of that title, descending from them. 3. Sir Will. Gordon, who was flain at Flodden, ancestor of the Gordons of Gight. 4. Sir James Gordon, seated at Latterfury, admiral of the royal fleet of Scotland in 1513. 5. Catherine, married one who called himself Richard, Duke of York, youngest son of K. Edward IV of England: this extraordinary person is by some given as a mean adventurer, of the name of Perkin Warbeck; whilst others, with some appearance of probability, think him the real fon of the King: it is

As the Earl of Huntley had a second wife, the Princess must have died before him.

James I. and Q. Joan.

PART IV. certain in France and Flanders he had been acknowledged by the Children of K. King of France and the Duchels dowager of Burgundy, the fifter of K. Edward IV. as the fon of that Sovereign, each of whom had granted him a guard, and he was very generally believed a Prince by the commonalty of England, as well as by some of the highest rank, and univerfally in Ireland; he was received therefore in Scotland with that respect that was due to the personage he pretended to be; and though a marriage had been proposed between the Scottish Monarch and the Princess Royal of England, the most illustrious then in Europe, yet so much was James prejudiced in favour of the supposed Duke of York, that he declined it. "He was a "young man," fays a Scotch writer, "near about James's own " age, fenfible and engaging; and the Scottish Monarch, who had " a great deal of the knight-errant in his disposition, considering " him as a diffreffed Prince, not only gave him a very hospitable " reception, and his own coufin in marriage, but entered fo warmly " into his cause, as to endeavour at placing him on the throne of " England." And he did invade that kingdom; but finding the people of the North of England not inclined to revolt, as having always been the partifans of the Lancastrian branch of the Plantagenets, he defifted; and in the end gave up the cause, so much that he fent away Perkin: but it does not feem any impeachment of James's understanding, in giving credit to what the Princes upon the Continent fanctioned, and it undoubtedly is much to his honour if he did, to act fo generously; we must suppose he had no doubt at the time he gave him his beautiful and amiable relation; for Perkin, struck with the charms of this accomplished lady, asked, and obtained permission, to unite himself to her; and as he was deemed the legal heir to the most valuable Crown in Europe, it was no wonder that James accepted his fuit; and as it is univerfally allowed he was extremely like Edward IV. in his features, who, De Comines fays, was the handsomest Sovereign of all his contemporaries, is it wonderful that a young lady should be inspired with sentiments favourable to the tender paffion for a young, unfortunate, and beautiful Prince? She was married in 1496, and her husband

leaving Scotland foon after in three ships, given him by K. James, PART IV. she, with a few more who were attached to his person, accompanied children of K. him; first he sailed to Ireland, where he had been so well received Q. Joan. before; but finding that the people of Cornwall had revolted, he hasted thither, taking the title of K. Richard IV. and having landed at Bodmin, marched to Exeter, but finding it impossible to take it, retired to Taunton; and at length, feeing himtelf deferted by many, and having only fome unarmed, undisciplined men, he took fanctuary, with 60 of his followers on horseback, in the Monastery of Beawley in Hants. Whilst Henry beset it, that he might not escape, he learned that his lady was in St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, and fearful that if she was pregnant more trouble might arife, he ordered a detachment of horse to go thither, and bring her to him; this was effected, and she faw her husband no more, who, upon furrendering up his person, obtained a pardon for his life; but having once escaped, and made a second attempt, he was doomed to that most inhuman fentence passed upon traitors, and which he underwent in 1498, at Tyburn, in all its horrors, having then and once before made a contession that he was an impostor; but what he declared is so contradictory and extravagant, that it appears far less plausible than that he was the son of a King. I have faid thus much of him only, as it relates to the fair Catharine, who was led to the presence of him, whom her husband had deemed in his proclamations a usurper, traitor, tyrant, and murderer; and whose head he had offered a reward for. Judge her sensations! but forrowing youth and beauty fet off with all the accomplishments that it was possible for those of illustrious birth to acquire, subdued a jealous Monarch, who treated the wife of the Pretender to his diadem, not only with a tenderness quite foreign to his character, but, as if he had been the fuppliant, and not her, confoling her in the most gracious and affectionate manner; recommending her to the care and protection of his Queen, by those who conducted her to London, where the was received by the whole Court with praife and pity. Henry, who never before had acted generously, assigned

PART IV. her a maintenance fuitable to her birth; and fhe was treated by the children of K. Queen more as a companion than as a lady of her bedchamber, for James I, and Q. a train of gentlewomen also were given to serve her; and she enjoyed this provision, not only during Henry's reign, but many years afterwards. There is no one point that the English and Scotch historians fo much agree in, as the merits of this lady. It is difficult perhaps to fay whether her virtue, beauty, or accomplishments, demanded most admiration. A Scotch writer fays, " she was one of " the most handsome and accomplished ladies in that kingdom;" and Speed, who calls her "a younge maide of excellent beauty " and vertue," fays, that "her faireness was such, and her pre-" fence so amiable, that she deserved to be, as she was commonly " called, The White Rose; whose fortunes (being so far unworthy " either of her birth, fingular modestie, or wifely faith, notwith-" flanding the fo abject condition of her husband) as they moved " just commiseration towards her, so they doubled the lustre of "their praifes." It was usual for the partizans of the persecuted House of York to call the heirs of that branch The White Rose; the Duchess of Burgundy gave Perkin that distinguished appellation; and De la Pole, in the reign of K. Henry VIII. also had it. Catharine always perfifted in her belief that her hufband was the real Duke of York, which made the gracious reception she always met with at the Court of London the more extraordinary, and is no fmall argument that he was what he pretended to be; for certainly the must see him at all times, and often when acting the part of a pretender must have been fatiguing and troublesome, and even perhaps impossible: he also feems to have loved her with the greatest warmth of affection, and his leaving her at St. Michael's Mount appears to have proceeded from his care, not his neglect, as a writer infinuates; had Catharine judged fo, her love to his memory could not have been fo warm, nor perhaps would it, if she entertained any doubts of his illustrious birth. By his violent death she could not judge him, for the Earl of Warwick was certainly of the blood royal, and without a crime; which must have convinced her, that

Henry would not have pardoned her husband, though he had been PART IV. really the fon of K. Edward IV. Catharine, in her widowhood, Chaldren of K. accepted the hand of Sir Matthew Cradock, of Swansea, in the Open Joseph county of Glamorgan, Knt. by whom the had an only child, Margaret, married to Sir Rich. Herbert, of Eways, Knt. from which marriage the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke, are descended. Perhaps this long relation of a lady, whose history feems not so immediately connected with the subject of these memoirs, may demand an apology; but it was impossible, knowing these particulars of her life, not to relate them, accompanied with fentiments expressive of all those feelings of compassion, which her great merit and unhappy life inspire. 6. Janet, married first to Alexander, Lord Lindsay, fon and heir of David, Earl of Crawford; and fecondly to Patrick, Lord Grey. 7. Mary, married to Sir Will. Sinclair, of Westerhill. 8. Sophia, to Sir Gilbert Hay, of Kilmallock. 9. Agnes, to Sir James Ogilvie, of Finlater. 10. Eleanora, to ---- Crichton, of Innernytie.

- 6. Eleanora, married to Sigifmond, Duke or Archduke of Eleanora, 6th Austria .
- 7. Mary, who became the wife of John, Lord of Campvere, or Mary, 7th Terveer, in Zealand: the grandson of this marriage kept up a strict correspondence with K. James IV. and sent that Monarch
- * Abercrombie quotes Mizeray to disprove the affertion of the Scotch historians, that five of K. James II.'s daughters accompanied their eldest sister into France; who, on the contrary, declares that Elizabeth and Eleanora did not arrive there until the year 1447, when they heard, to their unspeakable grief, that the wise of the Dauphin was dead: "but the King of France took care to wipe off their virgin tears; he "welcomed them with all the marks of affection and honour in his power to give "them, had they been his own daughters; affuring them, that he would be their father; and he was no worse than his word, as he bestowed them in marriage upon the Archduke of Austria, and the Duke of Bretagne." However, he is mistaken in the idea that the Queen Dowager retired, and died in France.

PART IV. many mares of a large breed, for which Flanders is famous, and children of K. these James highly prized; and returned for them the small horses James II. and of Galloway and fine sporting dogs, and conferred upon him the Order of the Thisse.

Arbella, 8th daughter. 8. Arbella, who died unmarried.

PART V.

James II. King of Scotland.

JAMES II. was the youngest of the twins, but Alexander the eldest dying in his infancy, he succeeded to the Scottish throne: he was born at the palace of Holy-rood-house, October 16, 1430; he and Alexander were baptized together with great splendour, and to farther evince the public joy, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, Alexander, Earl of Ross, and Sir Gilbert Kennedy, the nephew of K. James I. who were prisoners for disaffection, were set at liberty; and to prove the sincerity of the reconciliation upon that Monarch's part, Lord Douglas was chosen for one of the sponsors, and William, that Earl's son, was one of the fifty who received knighthood.

The day after the unfortunate death of his father, the three estates assembling at Holy-rood-house, set the crown upon his head, when only in the fixth year of his age; appointing Sir Alexander Levington, of Calendar, Governor of his person, and the Castle of Edinburgh, and Sir William Crichton Chancellor, until he came of age. James, at his arriving at manhood, and throughout his reign, acted in such a manner, that he won the love and admiration of all the virtuous part of his subjects; and though there never was any Sovereign more ill used by factious combinations of his nobles, yet none more effectually broke all their measures, and upon the ruin of their projects sirmly established his just rights, which by his disinterested government was rendered truly respectable. Having subdued the factions at home, he ventured to declare war against England; and whilst besieging Roxburgh in the first commencement of it, he ordered a discharge of the ordnance to honour the

arrival of the loyal and brave Earl of Huntly, which proved fatal K. James II. to him; for walking with the Earl of Angus too near them, a fplinter of one of the pieces of artillery that burst, or the plug that was in it. flying out, flruck his Majesty upon the thigh with such force as to break it, and fo much wounded him in fome of his vital parts, that he inftantly fell and expired: Lord Angus, who was near him, though dangerously hurt, recovered; and no injury whatever was done to any other. Such was the fingular fate of this King, when he had fat upon the throne twenty-four years, and lived twenty-nine. This catastrophe happened August 3, 1460. His remains were conveyed with great funeral pomp to the church of the monastery of Holy-rood-house. It is difficult which to admire most, his public or private virtues: his accomplishments were such as became his elevated flation, and the period he lived in; his perfon was well formed, he was robust, tall, and active, and his countenance would have been pleasing, but for a natural blemish in one of his cheeks, which was of a deep red colour, whence the Scots called him " James with the fiery face." He was brave, just, and temperate, though fometimes hurried into passion; and his deportment (continues my author), though martial, was vastly engaging, familiar, and very infinuating. Had he lived, he would by thefe means have effected what his father began, the destruction of the exorbitancy of the ariftocratical power, which almost annihilated that of the Crown; and if he had done it, Scotland would have been the first kingdom in Europe that had emancipated itself; but from various causes, particularly the constant minorities, she was the last, except Poland, that retained the feudal fystem in all its baneful properties. James, to his honour, never had a favourite; nor is there any stigma upon his character, except affassinating the Earl of Douglas with his own hand, a deed that feems in this age extremely ferocious; but it was not fo, if we confider that this nobleman and his family had bid defiance to every duty, religious and civil; that contemning the laws of his country, and his allegiance to his Sovereign, heacted as an independent despot; that he had stained himfelf with every crime that he and his favage retainers could indulge

in; and that he was only exceeded in acts truly diabolical by his more barbarous affociate, friend, and ally, Donald, Lord of the K. James II. Isles, and Earl of Ross, who, at his request, broke into the midst of the empire, "fparing neither old nor young, without regard to "wives, old, feeble, and decrepit women, or young infants in the " cradle, which would have moved a heart of stone to commisera-"tion; and burned villages, towns and corns, fo much thereof as " might not goodly be carried away, by the great prize of goods "that he took." Was it therefore so wonderful, or so criminal, that a Prince, finding no other way to dissolve their confederacy, should plunge his dagger into the breast of Douglas? The device of K. James II. was a coronet, or ancient crown, fixed on a mount of earth, a fword with the point downwards, and a crucifix placed in the form of a Roman V. with the motto "Pro Lege et Grege; another of his devices was a laurel garland, within which was the name of God in Hebrew, and as a motto, "In virtute tua."

Mary, Queen of K. James II.

In 1448, when K. James II. was arrived at his eighteenth year, Mary, Queen (as he was the only male of the Royal Family) the whole kingdom feemed desirous that he should marry; even the rebellious Douglas did not oppose it; the Chancellor Crichton was authorised to obtain a suitable alliance for his Sovereign, and a commission for that purpose was granted at Stirling, upon the 6th of May, in which he, John, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Otterburn, Canon of Glasgow, and Official of St. Andrew's, were impowered to treat on behalf of K. James with "the most illustrious Charles, the dear brother and loving consederate King of France," not only to renew the ancient treaty between the Crowns, but to unite it the more close, that Monarch was requested to propose a proper match for the young King. As there was no Princess then of the royal house of Valois, Charles recommended Mary, the daughter of Arnold, Duke of Gueldres, by Catherine, Duchess of Cleves, daughter of

John, Duke of Burgundy; a Princels fo every way fuitable, that Mary, Queen of the Ambaffadors acquiefced immediately in the choice; but the K. James II. marriage was not folemnized until 1450, when the royal bride was conducted into Scotland in a most magnificent manner, attended by a train of Princes, prelates, and noblemen; amongst the first perfonages of these, were the Bishops of Liege and Cambray, the Princes of Ravestein, Verc and Bergen, and the Earl of Nassau. In July she was married, and crowned in the Abbey Church of Holy-rood-house with a pomp suitable to the rank she was called to. Historians with justice speak highly of the fortitude she displayed when the King her hufband met a premature death; because, inflead of indulging in unavailing forrow, covering the royal corpfe, the became the leader of the army, and carried on the fiege with for much energy, that Roxburgh furrendered: and to shew her hatred to a place that had been fatal to the Kings of Scotland, and always dangerous to the kingdom, she levelled it to the ground. During the minority of her fon, she strove to obtain the Regency, and had the boldness to proclaim herself tutrix to the King, and governess of the kingdom; but the Peers contesting her right, a treaty took place between her and them; the conditions of it were, that an equal number on each fide should have the public affairs committed to them; the inspection of the King's education was given to Mary, and also the entire management of that of her other children; but the was far from being pleafed that the had not the whole, or at least a larger share in the administration. Finding her end approaching, the fent for her eldest fon, and having given him the most prudent advice, resigned her life in 1463, to that omnipotent Being who gave it. Her admonitions to K. James III. prove that the possessed the best abilities; perhaps mortifications of various kinds greatly contributed to hasten her end. Buchanan avers, that " fhe was not well spoken of in point of chastity." Lindsay, in very gross language, though he owns "she was in her husband's "time very wife and virtuous," fays, the became enamoured of Adam Hepburn, of Hales, "who had a wife of his own, which " caused her to be slighted of all the nobility of Scotland, that she

K. James II.

66 faw fo many noblemen's fons and barons free of marriage, and " could not chuse one of them in preserence to a married man." I Mary, Queenof omit some of his expressions, as not fit to be written at the close of the eighteenth century. Others give for her lover the Duke of Somerfet; but Mr. Guthrie fays, that whilst she is fabled to have been intriguing with the Duke, " fhe was spending the few remain-" ing hours of her life in the cloister of the collegiate church

" founded by herfelf; and that her death was greatly lamented,

" because her conduct was irreproachable in private life, and the

" nation much indebted to her prudence and activity."

Children of K. James II. and Queen Mary.

Children of K. James II. and Q. Mary.

1. James, who succeeded to the Crown, and became the third James, afterwards the IIId. King of Scotland of that name. See Part VI.

2. Alexander, Duke of Albany: See Section II. of Part V.

Alexander, Duke of Al-

3. John, Earl of Mar, an amiable but unfortunate Prince, who John, Earl of unhappily despising the conduct of the King, his brother, let fall fome rash, unguarded expressions, which were repeated with others still more to his disadvantage. Irritated at this, and fearful of the fulfilling of what had been foretold him, that he was to fall by his own family, or in the words of the wizard, that "the lion should be devoured by his own whelps," he was arrested and confined at Craig-Millar, from whence he was conducted to the Canon-gate, a fuburb in Edinburgh, where he died by violence, at the command of the King; some affert by venesection; the ministers of James gave out, that he died by his own rashness, for disappointment bringing on a fever, he was ordered to be bled; but in the delirium of possion, he tore off the bandage, and died by the effusion of blood. It is evident that the court wished to have him thought worthy of death, for twelve supposed witches were publicly executed under pretence that they were partizans in his crime. Thus this

Prince and twelve equally innocent persons fell a facrifice to the Children of K. King's predilection for judicial astrology and witchcraft, taught him James 11. and by minions, who wished to remove his family from about his throne, even from the world, to secure their own exorbitant power.

Linsay describes him as "lusty, and one of high stature, fair and "pleasant faced, gentle in all his behaviour and manners; and "knew nothing but nobility, using much hunting and hawking, "with other gentlemanny pastime and exercises, with other knight"ly games, as entertaining of great horses and mares, whereof the offspring might flourish, so that he might be staked in times of war." It is impossible not to lament the miserable fate of this accomplished Prince, who never married.

Another fon of K. James II. had another fon, whose name is not mentioned, for "the Queen parted with a bairn, but no man knew for what "reason: the bairn was born quick, and deceased within a short space thereafter."

Mary, eldest daughter.

5. Mary, eldelt daughter of K. James II. was first defigned to have been married to Edward, Prince of Wales, the unfortunate fon of the more unhappy K. Henry VI. and afterwards to their fuccessful rival K. Edward IV.; but neither of these alliances took effect, and she was married to a young Scotch gentleman, of the name of Boyd, of whose family it will be necessary to speak. They were supposed to be a younger, but very distant branch of the Stuart family, their progenitor having been Simon, third fon of Alan, the fecond high steward; they took the surname of Boyd from the feat of their chief. Sir Robert Boyd rendered himfelf fo acceptable to K. James II. that he erected his patrimony into a barony; Sir Robert rose to the highest offices of trust in that reign; he had been one of the tutors to the King, who, increasing in years, was put under the direction of Alexander Boyd, the brother of Sir Robert, a most accomplished gentleman, who easily obtained the favour and confidence of the young Monarch, by blaming the severity of the Kennedies, from whom a plan was laid to take him,

and executed accordingly, the King escaping; and they engrossed him, and the whole power of the kingdom: and to perpetuate, as Children of K. far as they could, this pre-eminence, they planned an alliance be- James II. and Q. Mary. tween this Princess and Thomas, his eldest son; no pains therefore were spared to render him every way accomplished, and he exceeded all expectation. The young ones were often, as it were, accidentally brought together; a mutual passion seized each, so that when it was proposed, (having moulded the King to their purpose) no obstacle prevented the union, a union of sentiment, and of affection, but fraught with a thousand misfortunes. To render him more honourable, and worthy fo high an alliance, he was graced with the Earldom of Arran, and the island of that name was given him to increase his revenue, and to better enable him to maintain his illustrious bride. This marriage was celebrated with great pomp in 1467. After indulging in all the luxury of love, they were separated in 1468, because he was judged the most proper person to bring from Denmark the confort of his Sovereign; but forgetting the hazard of leaving a capricious Prince with fuch, who might turn his esteem into hatred, he spent too much time in feasting and entertainments of every other kind, which detained him until the fpring, owing to the frozen fea. In the interim, the enemies of his family, envious of their sudden elevation, represented to the King what a jewel they had stolen from the Crown; the Princess, they faid, should have been given to some potent Prince, who could have Supported Scotland against his enemies. James listening to these arguments, determined to punish the Boyds; but waiting until the return of the Earl, his brother-in-law, that he might the more effectually avenge the indignity of the alliance. But when the fquadron returned with the Princess of Denmark, the faithfully affectionate Mary, hearing that the ships were anchored, hasted to the veffel where her husband was on board, but so disguised as not to be known to any other. - Astonished and confounded at the unexpected intelligence, and defirous of withdrawing from all the dangers that presented themselves, they immediately set fail for the kingdom he had just left. Here they found but a cold reception. Leaving it

lames II and Q. Mary.

therefore, they travelled through Germany into France. James children of K. vowed vengeance; the accomplished uncle fell upon a scaffold in 1460; the father had fled into England, and died an old man at Alnwick in that kingdom the following year, both of them juftly lamented; their only real crime against the state having been carrying away the minor from Linlithgow; but this, though with his own confent, and fanctioned afterwards by the parliament, availed nothing. To the truly venerable Kennedy were they very culpable, deriding that honeft, able, and virtuous minister, by sending an ape for his companion to divert him in his supposed idiotism, or childish age. The gallant, the youthful Earl of Arran, the hufband of James's fifter, had done no injury, yet he met with no mercy at the King's hands; the Princess, his wife, therefore, in hopes of mollifying her brother, returned to Scotland, in compliance with the intreaties and folicitations of her friends; but she was no fooner there, than she perceived her error, in trusting herfelf to the power of the Earl's enemies, for instead of admission into the royal presence, she was committed a prisoner to Kilmarnoch, the principal feat of the Boyds, "as in a free prison;" and to accomplish the aim of the King, the Earl, her husband, was fummoned to cohabit with her within fixty days, or the marriage should be declared null. If it had been in his power to have complied, it would only have rendered him a prisoner for life, or have conducted him to the block. As he did not appear, she was adjudged free from every matrimonial engagement, and therefore at full liberty to marry again whomsoever she pleased; but she never acquiesced in the sentence, but kept her faith to the husband of her choice. It is not afcertained where he then was, most probably in England, waiting the event, and to be ready to right himself if any opportunity should present itself, and which he could much easier accomplish than if he had been upon the Continent. John Paston, in a letter to his right worshipful brother, Sir John Paston, Knt. writes of Lord Arran thus:--" Alfo I pray you to recommend me, " in my most humble wise, unto the good lordship of the most courteous, gentlest, wifest, kindest, most companionable, freest,

" largest, and most bounteous knight, my lord the Earl of Arran, PART V. " which hath married the King's fifter of Scotland. Hereto he is Children of K. " one of the lightest delyverst (nimblest), best spoken, fairest on Mary. " archer; devouteft, most perfect, and truest to his lady of all the " knights that ever I was acquainted with; fo would God, my lady "liked me, as well as I do his person, and most knightly condi-" tions, with whom I pray you to be acquainted, as to you feemeth " best. He is lodged at the George Inn, Lombard Street." Then he mentions that he has his fifter Anne's book of the Siege of Thebes, and that when he had done with it, he promised to deliver it to Sir John; he therefore defires that Portland, who lodged also at the George, may bring it to him. The year is not added to the date of the month (June 5), but it is supposed to have been written in 1472, or 1470. We know very little else of this most deserving and unfortunate nobleman: Ferrarius says, he staid some years in Denmark, from thence he went through Germany to Venice, thence to Rome and Naples, and other the most celebrated cities in Italy; but at length fettled in Florence, where "having debauched " a citizen's wife, he was fet upon, and killed by the rage of her " husband." But though he says he had these accounts from the annals of Scotland, yet, I think, it is without foundation, for he was but a short time in Denmark, and I do not see what could induce him to visit Italy. How a degraded exile was to be supplied with all the requisites for so many removes is not mentioned, nor probably was he so rich: nor must it be forgotten that England is not enumerated amongst the places he visited, though here is a proof of it; nor does the conduct, which it is pretended occasioned his death, accord with his fidelity to the Princess, that made him appear so amiable in the eyes of Mr. Paston. I am therefore difposed to think, that finding he could not be received into Scotland, he left England, and went to France; but meeting with a cold reception from that most timid Monarch, Lewis XI. from his fears of irritating James, he fought protection and employment at the Court of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, in whose service he died of chagrin, (as Buchanan and other writers mention) greatly and most

Children of K. James 11. and Q. Mary.

deservedly lamented by that Prince, who buried him in Antwerp. and erected a noble monument, with an epitaph fuitable to his memory. However, I can scarce think his death happened, as they represent, so early as 1471; probably had he lived the husband of the Princess, he might have been useful to the state, and a powerful friend to his Sovereign in those difficulties he afterwards experienced. The man who has written his character, without an idea of any one's feeing it except the person to whom his letter was addreffed, is in the highest degree deserving credit: let us then bestow a figh upon the unmerited misfortunes of a most estimable young nobleman, who deserved what he once possessed, the heart and hand of a fair Princess. It was in vain to think of marrying Mary to any foreign Prince, fuch would not espouse the divorced wife of a difgraced, exiled, attainted nobleman:-the courtiers therefore felected for this favourite fifter of their Sovereign, James, the fecond Lord Hamilton, pretending that he had been promifed her for the bloodless victory his father had obtained for the kingdom, and the Princess was most pressingly urged to permit him to lead her to the altar; but this she resolutely refused, until the year 1474, at which time Dean Bannantyne, the continuator of Fordun, afferts, that her first husband, the Earl of Arran, was dead. This is highly to her honour every way. Lord Hamilton and the minister, for their own fafety, chose to have the fanction of parliament for an alliance that had been so detrimental to the Boyds. His lordship had been a partizan of the confederate nobles in the last reign, but forsook them in 1471. In 1472 he was appointed one of the Ambassadors to treat of a peace with England, and he was of the Privy Council to K. James III. from whom he received many grants of lands to him, and to the Princess, who is stilled in them "his dearest fifter, Mary Stewart;" he had Kilmarnock amongst them, which had been the chief feat of Lord Arran: one of these grants is dated so early as July 12, 1471. He died Nov. 6, 1479, leaving the Princess again a widow, who spent the remainder of her days in much retirement. She lived to a great age, and feemed by her high descent and common relationship to be the

proper mediatrix and composer of the differences which arose between the great princes in the reign of K. James V. When John, Children et R. Duke of Albany, the Regent, attempted to punish the Earl of James II. and Lenox for having joined the Peers consederated against him, and for that purpose had laid siege to the Casse of Hamilton, (where she resided) throwing herself before the Duke, she besought him to spare it, and listen to a reconciliation: the situation of so princely a matron, more exalted by her virtues than her birth, had all the effect she could wish; the siege was withdrawn, and the contenders submitted their differences to her arbitration, as recollecting that she was the daughter of K. James II. sister to K. James III. aunt to K. James IV. and great aunt to their common Sovereign, K. James V. then upon the throne; she was the mother of the Earl of Arran, grandmother of the Earl of Lenox, and aunt to John, Duke of Albany, the Regent.

This Princess had iffue by both her husbands; by the former she had, 1. James, whom K. James III. by his charter, dated Oct. 14, 1482, restored to the barony of Boyd, and as administrator to the Prince, the Duke of Rothfay, he gave back the possessions of the Boyds, his ancestors, which having been forfeited, had been granted to the heir apparent of the crown; but "Dame Mary Stewart, Lady Hamilton," his mother was to have, and enjoy them for her life: he died unmarried in 1484; he was a youth of "a fine spirit, and of great hopes." 2. Græcina Boyd, married first to Alexander, fourth Lord Forbes, and afterwards to David Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, who was killed at Flodden; by neither of whom she had any child. The iffue of the second marriage of the Princess was also two children; they became most illustrious. 3. James, the third Lord Hamilton, was greatly trusted and beloved by K. James IV. who gave him a grant of the Isle of Arran, and the title of Earl; and the King of France named him a Knight of the Order of the Cockle: he died in 1530, after having filled many important offices with the utmost honour to himself, and satisfaction to the government who employed him. James, Earl of Arran, his

James II. and Q. Mary.

fon and heir, was created Duke of Chatellerault, in Poitou, and Children of K. Knight of the Order of St. Michael, by Francis I. King of France; he was appointed Regent of Scotland during the nonage of Mary, and declared Heir to the Crown if she died without iffue; for his virtues and relationship her Majesty used to call him "father," in whose cause he suffered great misfortunes. James, his eldest son, Earl of Arran, and Duke of Chatellerault, was one of the most accomplished gentleman in Europe; he was thought of for the husband of Q. Elizabeth, but that haughty Princess never seriously meant to accept any man for her lord. Mary Queen of Scots feemed formed for love, but was ever unfortunate in her attachments; happy in all probability had it been for her, and her fubjects, had she listened to this Duke, her relation, who became enamoured with her when she was in France, and upon her return into Scotland he regarded her with the tenderest affection, but being treated with a studied neglect, he fell into a settled melancholy that greatly impaired his understanding; but though Mary had been infenfible of his merit, yet he never shewed any resentment, nor ever deferted her cause, severely as he suffered for it. He died iffueless in 1609. John, his brother, was no less faithful to his Sovereign, who had fo grateful a fenfe of it, that when she received the fatal meffage to prepare for death, taking a ring from her finger, she enjoined one of her servants to deliver it to her cousin, Lord John Hamilton, to witness her great sense of his family's constant fidelity, and of their fufferings on her account, requesting it might be kept as a lasting evidence of her kindness: it has been constantly preserved as a most honourable memorial. K. James VI. created him Marquis of Hamilton, a title before unknown in Scotland; his Majesty gave him many confidential places, and often visited him at Hamilton-House, treating him with the greatest respect, and calling him "father," as Q. Mary had the Duke of Chatellerault. He died in 1604. James, his fon, had the Order of the Garter, and an English Peerage; his grandson was created Duke of Hamilton. An heiress took the Dukedom of Chatellerault and Hamilton, with many other titles, into a branch of the Douglas family, who now posses them with others. 4. Elipearry. Zabeth, the daughter of the Princess Mary and Lord Hamilton, Children of K. married to Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, who, by Margaret James II. and Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Angus, and Margaret, the Queen Dowager of K. James IV. was the father of K. Henry I. second husband to Mary Queen of Scots, the issue of which marriage was James, King of Great Britain.—So that from this Princess, the daughter of K. James II. descends the Sovereigns of the British empire.

6. Margaret, the fecond daughter of K. James II. is mentioned Margaret, 2dt often in the histories of Scotland, but omitted in the account authors daughter. give of the children of that Monarch. In the beginning of the year 1478, a treaty of marriage commenced between the British Courts relative to this Princess's marriage with Anthony Widville, Earl of Rivers, the brother of K. Edward IV.'s Queen; and Aug. 22, 1482, the English King granted a safe conduct to the Lady Margaret, with three hundred attendants of whatever dignity, who, according to the preceding contract, was to be brought through England at K. James's expence; but this was not effected. though in the December following it was again taken up: Maitland's continuator thinks it was because the infamous treaty of Fotheringay, entered into by Edward and the Duke of Albany, todepose James, had reached him. Lord Rivers, after the death of the King, his brother-in-law, was killed at Pontefract by the usurper, Richard III. He married twice, but neither of his wives was this Princess; nor do I find that she ever had a husband: Buchanan fays, that Lord Clichton, in revenge for James III.'s debauching his wife, intrigued with this fifter of the King; and that the at length fo far forgot all decency, as to have a criminal paffion for that Prince, her brother, and to have gratified it. He also fays, the had a daughter by Lord Crichton, who went by his ownname; but, as these odious circumstances are only mentioned by a writer, whose hatred to monarchical principles, and to the character of K. James III. are well known, they ought not to gain.

_

part v. any credit, especially when facts, stubborn facts, seem to contradict children of K. the probability. Lord Crichton had revolted, and been attainted before the conclusion of this treaty of marriage between the Princess and Lord Rivers; and as numbers of Scots disaffected to James were at the Court of K. Edward, would not they have been happy to have had so good a cause, to throw insuperable objections in the way of a marriage, that by binding the two Sovereigns in friendship, must have been highly prejudicial to their interest? and Edward, who wished to honour his brother-in-law as much as possible, would never have proposed the alliance, had he known such a character of the lady; and must instantly have broken off the

negociation, had it afterwards been divulged.

Cecily, 3d daughter.

7. Cecily, the youngest child of K. James II. married to William, the third Lord Crichton, who, joining in the treason of Alexander, Duke of Albany, his brother-in-law, was tried and convicted of it in 1483, when he lost his possessions; but fortunately his mother enjoying the estate of Frendraught, it descended to his son. The issue of this unfortunate marriage was Margaret, who was the wife of George, Earl of Rothes, and Sir James, who had grants of several estates in the reigns of K. James IV. and V. in the latter of which he died. His descendant, Sir James Crichton, was raised by K. Charles I. to the title of Viscount Frendraught, but the honours of the family were lost by their adherence to the person of the misguided James VII. of Scotland.

PART V.

SECT. II.

Alexander, Duke of Albany, second Son of James II. King of Scotland.

ALEXANDER, Duke of Albany, was educated, after the premature death of the King, his father, by the Queen-mother as long as fhe lived; by her will she ordered that he should be sent to the Court of Gueldres to finish it; to comply with the dying injunctions of his furviving parent, the Council applied for, and procured a fafe conduct from Edward IV. King of England, for him and two hundred of his attendants *; yet the public faith was most indecently violated, by the English taking him at sea, and detaining him; but the Scotch Commissioners then negociating a peace at York, demanded as a preliminary that he should be liberated, which being complied with, he was conducted to the borders of Scotland with great honour. Some time after his return, he was appointed Governor of the important town of Berwick, with very extensive powers upon the borders; he acted with so much violence, and in fo arbitrary a manner, that the great families of Hume and Hepburn were justly enraged, but expostulation was vain; his power was irrefistible, and the castle of Dunbar, of which he was also governor, prevented a hope of succeeding in driving him, and his numerous followers, from that part of the kingdom. These families therefore took another and more effectual method of procuring a release from the grievances they en-

^{*} Alexander is stilled in the fafe condust, Duke of Albany, Earl of March, Lord of Annandale and Mar.

PART V. SECT. II. Alexander, Duke of Albany, 2d fon of K. James II.

dured; they raised the jealousy of the Sovereign, by infinuating that he entertained dangerous defigns against both his perfor and government, in conjunction with the English: the ministers were more ready to listen than they to give the information; on the contrary, the nobility, who despised the ministers for the meanness of their origin, endeavoured to stir up the resentment of the Prince against them, and even against the King; but what more than any thing else caused an irreconcileable breach between the royal brothers, was the prediction artful impostors had pretended to have preternaturally received, that the "Scotch lion was to be devoured by his own whelps." Ridiculous as this may appear in our enlightened age, it was momentous then, when judicial aftrology was fought as an unerring science; the Scotch Monarch was no wifer than the other potentates, his contemporaries. Hearing his fentence, he trembled for the confequences; he faw his brothers with dread, and their deaths only could have relieved him from his fears, which, when excited, no matter by what means, every thing tends. to strengthen: -- an old woman was produced, who also faw into futurity; fhe confirmed James's fuspicions, by declaring his brother's purpose to destroy him: no time was to be lost to prevent. what appeared to him, fo certain; the occasion, he judged, excused the remedy he withed to adopt; he wrote to both of them to come to court upon a matter of urgency—the younger fell in 1476; Albany's death was also meditated; but, apprized of his danger, he fled to Berwick, quitting Dunbar where he had refided, leaving it to be furrendered to Lord Evandale; but the garrison escaped in small vessels and boats to England. Though he might have gone into that kingdom, or France, yet he had the temerity. to venture to Edinburgh in difguife; but the spies the King had dispersed abroad soon conveyed intelligence to him of it, and he was arrested, and sent into close confinement in a tower of Edinburgh Castle; but here his courage or presence of mind did not defert him:-the Council adjudged him to death-James affented -no doubt proof was sufficient to condemn him, for he had carried on defigns against the King and the nation; it does not however,

was passed upon him, and he was informed of it; yet pretending ignorance, he obtained access for many of his friends to visit him, Alexander, Duke of Albawho, in the keeper's presence, affected joy at the nearness of his K. James II. release; this made the man naturally less strict, and treat his prifoner with more tenderness and respect: a vessel lay at Leith, sent purposely from France to convey him over, if he could escape to it: the master of the vessel informed him that he had wine to dispose of; he asked permission of the person, in whose custody he was, to fend for fome, who readily agreed to it; a faithful valet brought two casks of malmsey, in one of them was a roll of wax, inclosing a letter, purporting that no time was to be loft, for prefent death awaited him, and he also found a quantity of cord to assist him in escaping. Pleased to find these, he invited the keeper of the prison to fup, and partake of the wine, who gladly accepted the offer; the Duke's valet, the only attendant allowed him, was defired to be sparing in drinking, and to second him in whatever he did, promising a reward suitable to his services. The hour of supper came, mirth and good-humour abounded; the Governor arose, went his rounds, paid his homage to the King, who was in a diffant apartment, fastened the gates, set the watch, and returned to mirth and conviviality, accompanied by three of his men: it became late, these persons retired to their beds, which were in the Duke's chamber; but their master, thirsty soul, and he, sat down to play for more wine. The crifis arrived-Albany gave his attendant a fig-

appear that there was any regular trial, though fentence of death PART V.

nal, and immediately, with his own hands, he laid his keeper dead at his feet, by the stroke of a peniard he had concealed; when both together attacked the others furprifed from fleep, and weakened with their debauch; the fire had been contrived to be large, to make the effects of the wine more powerful; into it they flung. fome of the bodies; then taking the rope they used it, with the help of the bedding, for their descent down the tremendous high wall: the fervant, who ventured first, broke his thigh; the Duke contrived to lengthen it, and got to the bottom fafe; when taking

PART V. SECT. II. Alexander, Duke of Albany, 2d fon of K. James II.

from all pursuit, carrying the companion of his flight upon his back, and together they escaped in the ship which had been provided for the purpose to France*; where Lewis XI. from jealousy and in refentment for the alliance between the British nations, received him with respect, interested himself to obtain a pardon from K. James, but declined to affift him with men or arms. Perhaps the attention he paid to the Duke, and the bestowing a lady of illustrious rank in marriage upon him, was to alarm the fears of James the more, that he might compel him to invade England; for in 1480, James prepared to lead an army into that kingdom, but fuddenly difbanded it; however it did not prevent a war, for Edward IV. refenting it, fent the Duke of Gloucester to lay siege to Berwick, which was invested by him in the following year. The nobles of Scotland were rouzed at feeing the martial spitit of the nation lie dormant from the supineness of James and his minions; they raised their vassals, and appointed proper generals to lead them to battle. Whilft thefe things were performing in Britain, Albany was pining in France from discontent: Lewis no longer making efforts to regain him the honours he had lost in Scotland, but regarded him as a pledge, keeping James steady in his attachment to himself, in preference to his adversary, the King of England. Edward IV. privately negociated with him, and offered him what he appears ever to have looked up to, the Crown of Scotland. Lewis discovered it, and set a guard upon him, that he might not escape; but the King of England having dispatched a ship, commanded by James Douglas, Albany, eluding his spies, embarked, and landed fafely in Edward's dominions; and that Sovereign, whose munificence was equal to his valour, received the Duke with cordiality, and nobly recompensed the faithful Douglas. In the beginning of June 1482, the Duke of Albany had a conference with the English Monarch in the Castle of Fotheringay, articles

^{*} Lindfay fays, the Duke of Albany's escape was not discovered until nine o'clock the next morning, when search was made for the Governor, who was found near the door with the half confumed bodies of his fervants; and this too at a time when the nobles were met, to fix upon a place where the Duke was to be beheaded.

125

were drawn up on the 10th of that month, and acceded to the following day; nothing can be more detrimental than they were, to the honour of Albany; ambition, aided by revenge, overpowered Alexander, Duke of Albaevery fentiment that ought to have actuated his conduct as a Prince, ny, ad fon of K. James 11. a brother, and a man. He took the stile of King of Scotland, owing it as a gift from Edward, to whom and his heirs he bound himself, promising to affist them against all earthly Princes or perfons in all their quarrels; and fix months after he had, by his power, been put in possession of the greatest part of Scotland, he was to swear fealty and do homage for the Crown, and also to give up to Edward the town and castle of Berwic, the castle of Lochmaben, the counties of Lidsdale, Eskdale and Annandale; and fourteen days after he had been conducted by an English army to Edinburgh, utterly to renounce, and never to renew, the league with France; and if he could rid himself of all other women "according to Christian church," he should within a year, or fooner, marry the Lady Cecily, Edward's daughter, then promifed to his nephew, the Duke of Rothfay; if he could not get free, not to fuffer his eldest fon to marry, but by order of the King of England, and to fome lady of his blood: for these infamous concesfions Edward promises to reduce Scotland to his obedience, and to fupport him in it against James, who then held the Crown of that realm. It appears, fays Guthrie, that these agreements were drawn up, from their style and manner, by a Scotchman, and thence infers that Edward gave him his own terms-terms that must brand his name with a baseness scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of any nation. Pleased with the project, however, he marched to the country that he had thus shamefully bartered, accompanying the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards K. Richard III. The Scottish nobles affembled again their tetainers to withstand these invaders, but first they determined to execute their vengeance against the worthless courtiers that had engrossed the ear of majesty; feizing therefore the five obnoxious domestics, they hung them at the bridge of Lawder, the usual place of execution, and this in the prefence of James, in defiance of the laws of their country, of

PART V. SECT. 11. ny, 2d fon of K James II.

their duty to their Sovereign, and even of decency. After this barbarous exhibition, they led their King a captive to Edinburgh Alexander, Duke of Alba. Castle, and then dissolved their army, forgetting that Albany and Gloucester were entering Scotland at the head of 22,500 fighting men, and that there was a fleet to fecond and affift them. The royal brothers hearing this unexpected news, met no opposition, but leaving the fiege of Berwic, they marched to the capital, where they found James a prisoner, but his nobles attached to his person; and though the Dukes had, from pretended motives of humanity, done no mischief in their march, yet the people treated Albany with coldness; they pitied James, commisferating his situation, and the fcandalous treatment he had experienced. Surprifed and disappointed, the royal Dukes remained quiescent in Edinburgh, more like vifitants than warlike chieftains come to overthrow the government, and depose the Sovereign: Gloucester only demanded the repayment of a just debt due to England; Albany, as if forgetting, and not wishing the Scotch nobility to know the traitorous defign he came upon, (though both they and the King were well apprized of it) only fued to be reinstated in what he had been deprived of, and Aug. 2, the confederated Peers agreed, that if the "noble and mighty Prince Alexander, Duke of Albany, " would in all things be a good and true subject to their Sovereign, " they would free his mighty lordship" from all bodily harms, and prevail with the King to restore him to all he had possessed before he left the kingdom; and that an indemnity should be given to all his followers, except fuch as had been excepted by the King's highness in his tast proclamation made in parliament, if that henceforth they would behave themselves as true lieges. Albany's guilt and aftonishment rendered him dumb; he durst not plead for Douglas, his confederate-Gloucester settled his terms with Scotland-the former felt equally contemptible which way foever he looked; he had betrayed Scotland, deceived England, and deferted France; he had no option but to reconcile himself with his own family; he therefore paid his respects to the Queen, and the Duke of Rothsay in Sterling Castle, where he was received with every token of affec-

tion, and was prevailed upon by the Queen to release the King from confinement. This task he undertook, knowing that the merit would be all his own. James wished to owe it to him, rather than Alexander, Duke of Albato his nobles who had imprisoned him; it was more for his honour ny, 2d fon of K. James II. to come from a Prince of the blood than the executioners of his ministers, and it was easier to reward one, than many. Albany returning privately to Edinburgh called forth the loyal part of the inhabitants, and by two heralds demanded entrance, and the liberation of their Sovereign: the English army was near, and at his command; the nobles therefore making a virtue of necessity, opened their gates, and the Duke led the King away to Holyrood-house, where James declared him his prime minister: all bent the knee to him—this revived his former ambition, and awakened all the jealousies of James; and he had now too much reason for them, discovering that whilst Albany resided at Dunbar, he had given a commission, dated Jan. 12, 1482, "to his most dear cousins and "counsellors, the Earl of Angus, Lord Gray, and Sir James "Liddel," to treat with the King of England, concerning the agreement entered into between them when they were at Fotheringay Castle; and that the English King having nominated Feb. o. the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Scroop, and Sir William Parr to confer with them, they had concluded, two days afterwards, to ratify the articles before agreed to, and which were specified:-James was to be dethroned; Alexander to be his fucceffor; England was never to cease from war until it was effected; the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Northumberland were to be upon the borders with 3000 archers in constant pay, and if any opportunity offered "a notable army" was to be raifed, that, joining with the Duke's, fhould be fufficient, "with God's grace," to compleat the The Scotch commissioners obliged themselves by their " faiths, honours, and knighthood," that upon failure of heirs to the Duke, they, their friends, vasfals, and dependants, should never live under the allegiance of any other Prince but the King of England, and that they would keep from their present Sovereign all the strong holds; the Earl of Douglas was to be restored to all

PART V. SECT. II. ny, 2d fon of K. James II.

his possessions, conformably to an agreement between that nobleman and the Earl of Angus; and that when the Duke was at Alexander, Duke of Alba-liberty to marry, and had become King of Scotland, he should espouse one of the daughters of K. Edward, and that without any portion or expence whatfoever; yet fhe was to become Queen. Such was the agreement between "the most excellent Prince Ed-" ward, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and "the high and mighty Prince Alexander, Duke of Albany." But He, who governs all the kingdoms of the earth, rendered their mighty projects nugatory; Edward suddenly was hurried to the grave at a premature age, and Gloucester, his brother, was too deeply busied in effecting the usurpation of his diadem, to liften to the more distant prospects that Albany's crimes opened to his view in Scotland *; the Duke, therefore, deferted by his ally, and his treason divulged to his brother, fled from Dunbar into England with Lord Crichton; James summoned them to answer for their misdeeds, and upon their non-appearance they were declared traitors, their honours and estates forfeited; but Dunbar and the Castle of Crichton were too strongly fortified to be compelled to fubmit; however, fearing the worst, the former was given to the English. Richard having obtained the Crown, treated Albany and Douglas with marks of respect: France wished to place his rival Richmond upon the English throne, and Scotland had no reason to refuse assistance; he therefore paid them so much attention, as to admit them to be witnesses of a treaty concluded June 25, 1483, at the city of York, with Portugal; and about a month afterwards the five hundred horse, he had been prevailed upon to lend them, to make an impression upon the South of Scotland, was enabled to act; but by the bravery and patriotism of two gentlemen, of the name of Johnston, the Scotch borderers were collected, a battle fought at Kirkonnel, and the invaders defeated: the learned but

^{*} K. Edward IV. might be faid to have taught Gloucester his wicked usurpation, by aiding Albany in his intended wickedness; and perhaps James III. by his firm belief of the witch's prediction, led Albany also to credit it.

curbulent Douglas was made a prisoner, and obliged to profess him- PART V. felf a morek in the Monastery of Lindores, and Albany owed his fafety only to the fleetness of his horse. Recovering English Duke of Alba-ground, he repaired again to court, but it was only to have the K. James It. mortification of knowing that Richard, to win the Scotch Monarch from the cause of his opponent, was making a treaty and alliance with him, fo that all the hopes of Albany vanished as a dream; however, he would not quit the borders, even whilst Richard and James were still negociating, but continued making excursions at the head of a flying troop, though without effect; and finding that the former potentate had deferted him in the treaty, he refolved to leave Britain, and go again to the continent; and by the help of John, son of Sir John Liddel, he effected it. Charles VIII. received him with kindness, notwithstanding his ill conduct, and perhaps too with the confent of his brother; but he furvived but a short time, for tilting with the Duke of Orleans, a splinter of the fpear of his antagonist struck him so deep into some part of his body, that it occasioned his death in 1484, after an active, but most disgraceful life. Little need be said of this Prince's character, his history having sufficiently shewn it; he had no pleasure but in arms and war horses. Lindsay gives this singular description of his person :- "He was (says he) of mid stature, broad shouldered, 46 and well proportioned in all his members, and especially in his "face, that is to fay, broad-faced, red nofed, great eared, and of a very awful countenance, when he pleafed to fhew himfelf " unto his friends."

The Duke married twice; first, Catharine, daughter of William, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, by a lady of the Douglas family; but this was not looked upon as a marriage according to the canons of the church; it appears chiefly so, because the parties most interested wished it otherwise, for the church often gave dispensations, and authorised a much nearer relationship, or could have qualified any other marriage, though there were greater impediments. In 1476, when he was in France, and whilst his first

Alexander, Duke of Albay, 2d fon of K. James 11.

wife was living, Lewis XI. obtained for him Ann, the daughter of the Earl of Bologne, one of the greatest matches in that kingdom. Notwithstanding this marriage, in 1482 he was negociating with K. Edward IV. to conclude another between him and that Monarch's daughter, Cecily, if he should free himself from matrimonial engagements. This Princes had been contracted with his nephew, the Duke of Rothsay; Abercrombie thinks that both his wives were then living; he seemed to have as little sidelity to them as he had loyalty to his brother. By each of these ladies he had a son.

- 1. Alexander, a Prince of mean capacity, who, when his father's attainder was taken off, and his honours and estates were restored to his family, was set aside as born of a marriage not legally contracted, though it is well known that the issue of such marriage at that period was always allowed to be legitimate; but neither his half brother nor the Parliament paid any attention to his claim; on the contrary, they insisted upon his going into the church, that it might essection, they insisted upon his going into the church, that it might essection, and secure it to his brother. He became Bishop of Murry, and Abbot of Inchessiva.
- 2. John, Duke of Albany and Regent, of whom in the next Section.

PART V.

SECT. III.

John, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, Son of Alexander, Duke of Albany, and Grandson of K. James II.

JOHN, the only fon of Alexander, Duke of Albany, by Ann, daughter of the Earl of Bologne, was educated in France; but when the Scots found that the Queen Dowager of K. James IV. had married again, they fent an embaffy to invite him to Scotland, and take upon him the Regency of the kingdom during the minority of his relation, K. James V. which he accepting, upon his coming over was received into the capital with great splendour, accompanied with the Queen-mother, and attended by the nobility and officers of state. The Parliament, as has been mentioned, restored him, at the expence of his half-brother, to all that the Albany branch had lost by his father's attainder.

Notwithstanding these substantial expressions of regard, he placed but little considence in the natives, whose manners were distasteful to him: a mutual dislike ensued, which occasioned his returning to France, but not before he had placed those persons about the minor King, whose fidelity he could trust, putting French garrisons in the most important castles, and taking with him many of the principal persons of the Scotch nation. By these cautious means he effectually preserved his office of Regent, though he could not the quiet of the kingdom, for deadly seuds broke out in every part of it; many assassing assassing the period, so that he found him-

PART V. SECT. III. John, Duke of

felf compelled to visit Scotland again. Having settled order, he endeavoured to stir them up to invade England, under pretence of revenging themselves for the death of the late King, and their Albany, and revenging themselves of Flodden; but they, wifely finding that he grandfon of K. fathers, at the battle of Flodden; but they, wifely finding that he acted more to oblige France than to ferve Scotland, were averfe to the measure. For this reason, he passed over to the Continent for a reinforcement, hoping it would have altered their fentiments; but as they still remained unmoved, and continued jealous of him, he asked and procured an indemnity from the Parliament for any errors he had unintentionally committed whilst he presided at the helm. and then finally left the kingdom, after an administration that lasted nine years. He was well received at the Court of France, where he was much beloved; he had affigned him a place between the Archbishop of Langres, and the Duke of Alençon. This Prince equalled his father in courage, and excelled him in every thing elfc, especially in all those virtues that ought particularly to be conspicuous in persons of exalted birth. He died in 1526, leaving no child by his wife, Anna de la Tour, a daughter and coheiress of John, Earl of Auvergne, of the house of Vendosme. But he left a natural daughter, Leonora, who married to John del Hospital, Count of Choisy.

> There is a gold medal of this Prince with a full shield of arms; on the baron's fide are four quarters, the first and second have a lion, with a label of three points, and under the lion; the third has the arms of the Isle of Man, and the fourth St. Andrew's cross... On the femme fide there are also four quarters, the first and fourth charged with femme of fleur de lis, a castle; the second and third bear three (fomething like quils); over all a coat of pretence, charged with three pears, or fomething nearly refembling them. Upon the shield is a coronet of nine points. The legend runs, JOANNIS ALBANIA, DUC GUBERN. Reverse has an eagle difplayed, its head encircled with a glory, with a large crofs above; under is a small shield, surrounded with the order of the star; and round the whole this inscription, 1524 SUB UMBRA TVARYM.

PART VI.

James III. King of Scotland.

AMES III. was born in the year 1453; he was proclaimed and crowned in military pomp at Kelfo August 11, 1460: his education was chiefly committed to the Queen, his mother, and the affairs of state in his minority were assigned to some of the most elevated nobility, with the Chancellor Kennedy at their head. His majority evinced that he mistook the genius of the people he governed; like his father, he was convinced that the nobles were haughty, ambitious, and the despots of their domains; but he forgot that they were powerful, revengeful, and could not brook the contempt with which he treated them, nor bear to fee him feeluded in his palace, giving the entire government of the kingdom to mean foreigners. His ministers were, Cockran, a mason, created Earl of Mar; Rogers, a musician; Fortifan, a fencing master; Leonard, a smith, and Homil, a taylor. Lewis XI. protected the barber who governed his dominions in his name, but James's nobles indignantly hung up these men. This could not close the breach, for the king still regarding his nobles only as the creatures of his predeceffor's favour, whom he might debase or supersede with equal ease and justice, and they beheld him as only the first feudatory in the kingdom: the contention was unequal; he faw himself a prisoner in his own capital; his unworthy brother uniting with the English feated with an army in the bowels of his kingdom; and at length, when he was fuffering himfelf to be guided in all things by his Parliament, and attempting to govern with justice and moderation, fetting his only child at their head, the barons led their retainers against him; James sled from the field of battle before fortune had

PART VI. declared against him. Falling from his horse, and receiving some K. James III. injury by it, he was carried to the cottage of a miller, and being questioned whom he was, and unguardedly faying, "I was this morning your king," one of those that were called in, an enemy to his cause, stabbed him to the heart, and he expired immediately, July 11, 1488, when he had lived thirty-five years, and reigned twenty-eight. The revolters, fatisfied with his death, and fearing the effects of the penitential remorfe of his fon, who was to become their Sovereign, they conveyed the corpfe the 25th of the same month to the Abbey of Cambuskeneth, near Stirling, founded by K. David I. and buried it with great funeral pomp. Neither the fanctity of the place, nor its being the resting-place of entombed majefty, could prevent the fury of the religious bigots, under the violently vindictive Knox, from deftroying it. The last Prior, forfaking a cowl for an Earldom, used the materials to erect him a feat in the neighbourhood. James in his person was above the usual flature, well formed, and his features were fo regular, that he has been called the handsomest man in Europe, when Edward IV. was no more; his complection was fwarthy, and his hair black. He was punctual in all his religious duties, but they feemed tinged with fuperfition; this, with his frugality, won him the hearts of the common people, whose friend he invariably feems to have been; vet he was a cruel and unnatural brother; the immense wickedness of Albany cannot excuse the death of the Earl of Mar, nor the cruelty exercifed against the Princess Mary; the infatiable vengeance with which he purfued Lord Arran, his brother-in-law, shews a revengeful disposition, as his open enmity to his nobility did his impolicy; but all this happened before his judgment was well formed. Had he been permitted by them to have reigned in the manner he had at length adopted, his life would have been a bleffing to all; but when he began to do well, he ceased to exist. He was faithful to his friends when he could think for himfelf; he was too elegant for the people he prefided over, who mistook refinement for luxurious indolence; had he united, like his grandfather, the buffle of the camp with the elegancies of a court, he would

have been feared by the great, as well as beloved by the people. PART VI. His munificence shews that his occonomy was not the effect of a K. James 111. parsimonious spirit, but a laudable frugality. In fine, James was a mixt character, that would have shone with brightness had he been born in a more civilized age, or governed a nation who had a greater taste for arts than arms: the laws enacted by him were just and expedient, and Scotland was more indebted to him than to most of her kings. He had three devices-the first was a hen sheltering her brood, with "Non dormit;" the fecond, two rocks placed in a tempestuous sea, with "Durabo." His unfortunate descendant, K. Charles I. used the same. The third was taken up when he saw the conspirators headed by the Prince his son; it represented a large growing vine-tree watered with wine, which, instead of refreshing, made it fade; the motto, " Mea fic mihi profunt." These imprint upon our minds that James had great taste; they are, what they ought to be, fimple and intelligent. The reader will be furprifed when he is told that "the public edifices, erected in his reign, ex-" celled in tafte and magnificence all on this fide the Alps, and " rivalled even those of Italy in its then state."

The Queen of K. James III.

Margaret, Queen of K. James 111.

King Edward IV. of England, that he might deprive the Lancastrian branch of the royal samily of so powerful an ally as Scotland, proposed a marriage between the young Monarch, K. James III. with an English lady, whom his counsellors could agree upon; and the better to cement the peace of the kingdoms, recommended several intermarriages between the greatest samilies in both courts: this was also to still any resentment that might be entertained against him for having declined the hand of the Princess Royal of Scotland. But James's counsellors, ever attached to France, refused the proffered alliance; nor would they accept of a daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, because it would have been equally disagreeable to their old allies. They acted wisely in preferring the Princess

Margaret, Queen of K. James III.

Margaret, daughter of Christiern I. who held the sceptres of the three nations of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and for these reasons: it was more honourable; and as that Monarch was justly displeased that the long arrearage of the tribute money for the Isles of Orkney and Shetland, called the annual of Norway, was not paid, it might prevent his taking any violent means to enforce a demand, the justice of which they did not pretend to deny, and knew that no time could be more opportune to exact it, than when the Sovereign of Norway held also the two other northern kingdoms, and a minor fat upon their throne . James, young as he was, in 1648 wrote a conciliating letter to Christiern. The Parliament in 1648 (who had two years before appointed a committee that was to particularly attend to this alliance) issued two commisfions; by one, two right reverend Prelates, the Chancellor, his prime minister, his almoner and confessor, the Archdeacon of Glasgow, and his two armour bearers, were impowered to vifit the empire of Germany, the kingdoms of France, England, Spain and Denmark, the dukedoms of Burgundy, Britany, Savoy, and other European countries, for a fuitable match for their Sovereign; the other commission authorised them to treat with the Northern Monarch particularly; both are dated at Edinburgh July 28, in that year; the former was merely to accelerate what both parties wished to agree to, a union between James and the Princess, and by that

^{*} Christiern had demanded these arrears from K. James II. who, with the other's consent, made Charles VII. of France, their common ally, referee. Their Ambassadors laid the matter before that Monarch in 1460; the Scots demanded, as a basis of a future negociation, the entire abolition of the annual of Norway, the uniting the islands in dispute to the Crown of Scotland for ever, and the payment of 100,000 crowns in ready money as a marriage portion with the Princess, that she might be enabled to appear with a splendour equal to her rank. The Danes saying they had no authority to conclude such terms, the parties withdrew, and returned to their royal employers. In the interim, James II. was cut off, so that all that could then be done, was, that Charles VII. should obtain a truce between them; which Christiern listened easily to, because he was extremely desirous of placing the Crown of Scotland upon his daughter Margaret's head.

to compromise their differences about the arrearage. This hetero- PART VI. geneous assemblage of characters arrived in Denmark in the begin-Margaret, ning of September, but the treaty was not concluded until May 10, James III. following: the conditions were, that the annual of Norway should cease for ever; that the Princess should have 60,000 florins of gold for her portion, 10,000 to be paid before the left her native country, and the Orkney Isles were pledged for the payment of the remainder; but when the debt was discharged, they were to return to the Crown of Norway; if Margaret became James's widow, the was to have the palace of Linlithgow, and the Castle of Down, in Monteith, with their appurtenances, for her places of residence; and the tierce, or third part of the ordinary revenues of the Crown. if she chose to remain in Scotland; but if she returned to Denmark, to accept instead of it 120,000 florins of the Rhine, deducting the 50,000 due for the remainder of her fortune; she was in no case to marry an Englishman, or any subject within the jurisdiction of England. However, before the royal bride could leave Denmark, Christiern was obliged to apply to, and obtain from the Commissioners, that he should pay only 2000 florins in hand, and accept the mortgage of the Shetland Isles for the repayment of the other 8000; the revolt of the Swedes occasioned this. Queen was conducted to Scotland by the Ambaffadors Plenipotentiaries, accompanied with many illustrious subjects of her father. and was received with a magnificence fuitable to her birth, and the dignity she came to possess. She landed at the Forth, and was conducted thence to the capital with vast splendour: the nuptials were celebrated in the church of the Abbey of Holy-rood, July 10, 1469, amidst a vast concourse of nobility, natives, and foreigners: in the November following the was crowned, the three orders of the state attending. Margaret was only fixteen years of age when she became James's queen. Ferrarius, a native of Piedmont, who had vifited most of the splendid courts of Europe, professes that the festivities, given on account of the nuptials, exceeded any thing of the kind he had ever feen upon fuch an occasion; the trade Scotland carried on enabling James to make fuch a display. The foPART VI. Margaret, Queen of K. James III.

reigner already quoted fays, Christiern's daughter was one of the greatest beauties, and one of the most accomplished Princesses of that age; and that her virtues equalled, if not furpaffed, her perfonal charms. James, who was remarkably handsome, entirely engaged her affections, and the had the prudence not to interest herfelf with the management of public affairs, except to foothe and compose the violent animosities that disturbed the repose of the King, her husband, and of the state; and it was much owing to her, that James was extricated from his confinement by the nobility; the was even filent to the injury James did her by his amours. Her death happened in 1484, when not quite thirty years of age, " justly regretted as a Queen, a wife, and a mother." Even Buchanan allows that "fhe was of fingular beauty and probity, and " that by her good graces she moderated the unbridled appetites " and efforts of her husband," who certainly was not enough senfible of the treasure he possessed. This, with the distracted state of the kingdom, led her to a very premature grave. Her remains were deposited in the abbey church of Cambuskeneth, February 29, following her death.

James, left a widower at so early an age, thought of marrying again; and in 1487 a treaty was signed between him and K. Henry VII. of England, and for the further increase of love and amity between the kingdoms, a marriage, it was agreed, should be contracted between the said K. James and Queen Elizabeth, late consort to K. Edward IV. with several other alliances between the royal families. In the following July the British Monarchs were to have an interview, and the truce was lengthened until Sept. 1, 1489. Both the Sovereigns had their aim in this marriage; each was desirous, and found it necessary for them to have the friendship of the other; it cut off all hope of their rebellious subjects disturbing the tranquillity of their government. Henry wished to remove far from his presence a mother-in-law he was averse to; but this intended union with her was fatal to James, his powerful chieftains knowing their own demerits, and justly fearing that all the cri-

minal projects they had engaged in, would be laid open by his new PART VI. confort, who had been greatly trusted in her late husband's reign, Margaret, and who was, they knew, "an active, fubtle, defigning woman;" Queen of K. James III. and as James had fworn to his Parliament that he would not pardon treason, or any other of the greatest crimes, for seven years, they rose in arms as one man, led their united forces to Bannockburn, from whence the unwarlike king fled, and by their procurement was followed and affaffinated in cold blood, as he lay defencelefs, and languishing upon a mean couch in the cottage of a miller.

Children of K. James III. and Q. Margaret.

Younger children of K. James III. by Margaret, his

1. James, who, fucceeding to the Crown, was stiled the IVth. James, afterwards King. See Part VII.

2. James, generally called Alexander, but he was baptized by James, called Alexander, the former name, most probably from a defire that in case his elder Duke of Ross, Archbishop of brother died, his father might be succeeded by a son of his own St. Andrew's, and Chancelchristian name. He was born in the year 1476, and at the font lor. created Marquis of Ormond; and January 1480-1, the earldom of Rofs was granted him. Shaw, Abbot of Paifley, had the care of his education committed to him. Young as he was, in 1487 it was agreed between his father and K. Henry VII. of England, that there should be a treaty of marriage set on foot between "the High " and Mighty Prince James, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Ross, " and Lord of Brechen, and a right noble lady, Catharine, the " third daughter of Edward IV. late King of England, and fifter " to Princess Elizabeth, then Queen of England:" but this marriage never took effect. The King also, January 29, 1488-9, raised him to the ducal honour, but though the title of Albany was forfeited, yet James either considered it as in obeyance, or from dislike to the characters of those who had borne it, gave him that of Ross: in the patent he is stiled "James our second son, Duke of Ross, " Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Edradale, or Ardmanach, Lord

PART VI. Younger children of K. Margaret, his Queca.

" of Brechen and Nevar." At the age of twelve, his father falling by the hands of his subjects, he was left under the guardianship of James 111. by his brother, K. James IV. but the Parliament gave the tuition of him to Lord Hales; though his Majesty had such a grateful sense of Shaw's great care of his pupil, that he erected the town of Paisley into a "burgh of barony in his favour." Whether it was feared that he might act the same part that his uncle had, or that it was supposed the church offered him a better provision than he would possess otherwise, is unknown; but when he took holy orders, his inclination could not have been confulted at his age, we may suppose, and upon the death of Schevez in 1498, he was nominated to succeed him in the bishopric of St. Andrew's, and though then only in his twenty-fecond year, Pope John II. at the folicitation of his brother, K. James IV. dispensed with the canons, which disallowed one so young to enjoy so high a dignity; but as it was necessary that he should attend the Papal Court, probably he applied to, and obtained from K. Henry VII. a fafe paffport, enabling him to travel through England, that he might the better get over to the Continent. He must have made much expedition to Rome, for he returned to Scotland early enough to fucceed the Earl of Huntley in the important office of Chancellor of the kingdom; still better to support his illustrious birth, and great dignity, he had the valuable abbey of Dumfermling given him, to hold in commendam; no doubt had he lived a little longer, he would also have received the dignity of Cardinal, but unfortunately he died in 1504, at the early age of twenty-eight years, and was burried in the chancel of his cathedral church, amongst the remains of his predecessors. I think it singular that his titles were classed, as we fee then, in his charters; in them he is stiled James, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, Duke of Rofs, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Ardmanach, Lord of Brechen and Nevar, perpetual Commendatory of the Monastery of Dumfermling, and Chancellor of the kingdom of Scotland.

3. John, Earl of Mar, who died unmarried. In 1490, the John, Earl of Mar.

Commissioners for collecting and ascertaining the royal revenue were PART VI. also intrusted with the management of the appointments left by K. Younger chil-James III. to this Prince, and his brother, the Duke of Ross: dren of K. James III. by their own estates were so large as to be deemed sufficient to support Margaret, his them %.

* It is not known that K. James III. had any natural child, though he indulged himself with other ladies than his Queen; he is accused of seducing the beautiful wife of Lord Crichton; and the confederated nobles, amongst other affertions, upbraided him in 1482 of keeping a mistress, whom he called the "Daify."

PART VII.

James IV. King of Scotland.

J AMES IV. was born upon St. Patrick's day, in the year 1473, an event so agreeable to the Court of Denmark, that her Sovereign released all claim to the Orkney Islands in favour of the Crown of Scotland. After the violent death of his father, K. James III. he was recognized as his fucceffor by the Convention of the States, and in June, 1488, the folemnity of his coronation was performed in Edinburgh. James poffessed many of the great qualities that render a Monarch truly respected; in the first point of view was the fleady, inflexible manner in which he distributed justice, and the better to effect this, he travelled about his dominions to fee that the laws were duly observed; those guilty against the state were certain to receive the punishment their crimes deserved; nor was his mercy less conspicuous, for he pardoned all his personal enemies. By a conduct fo highly praife-worthy, he won the veneration and love of all his subjects; he had ever the command of himself, for his countenance never changed, fo as to express anger or resentment against any one, however great the provocation. In manly exercifes he had no fuperior, and he excelled all his contemporaries in bearing the fatigues of a camp. This, with his being just, merciful, and liberal, rendered his government more respected at home than any of his predeceffors, and Scotland was by him brought to act its part upon the great theatre of Europe. He faw its maritime fituation, and knew the riches that commerce procures: his subjects traded in their own veffels, and to protect them he built a fleet, the most splendid of any in Europe; the Michael, Margaret, and James, were the largest ships in the world. With this navy he pro-

tected his friends, and chastised his enemies; his cousin Charles, FART VII. Duke of Gueldres, was reflored to Gueldres and Juliers, chiefly by K. James IV. the men and money this fleet conveyed to him, though those principalities were then in the possession of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, one of the most powerful Sovereigns in Christendom: it released his uncle John, King of Denmark, from the difficulties he was involved in by the revolt of Sweden and Norway, and he vindicated the honour of his flag against England, Portugal, the Flemish and Dutch; his Admirals returning home laden with the rich capture of the vessels of those people; and to punish the cruelty of the two latter, Barton fent his Sovereign casks filled with the heads of fuch as he took, treating them as pirates. By fuch a conduct as this, there was not a potentate, however great, but what kept up a correspondence with, and courted his friendship; and the splendour in which he lived exceeded that of the richest and most powerful, and it was equally elegant as splendid. Foreigners of the highest worth slocked to Scotland to partake of the pleasures his court afforded, or to participate of his bounty; the martial tilts and tournaments were here in perfection; Latin was spoke, and written with greater purity than any where elfe, and the Muses found in James a passionate admirer and profuse patron: his palaces were superb and numerous, and the richness of himself and his nobles caused wonder and admiration; for he had the art of winning them to his person, and to his court, a thing unknown before, where, from the splendour of the Sovereign, they were taught fubmiffion to his laws, and affection for himself; so that had he lived long, Scotland might much fooner have loft the feudal fystem, and have feen a loyal and dutiful nobility, instead of factious and vindictive chieftains, armed alternately against their Sovereign or themselves, setting majesty and law equally at defiance: happy too, had James been imitated in this flattering condescension. This magnificence has been highly blamed, as inconfiftent both with the fmall extent and poverty of his dominions; and it has been faid that he died opportunely for his own reputation, as otherwise he must have accumulated a debt he would never have known how to

discharge; but I cannot subscribe to this opinion; his own revenue K. James IV. was confiderable, he received a yearly fum from England, and often had remittances from France; but above all, the money his navy produced him must have been very great, the ships of Portugal, of the Flemish and Dutch, which he took were loaded with the richest cargoes; it is probable too that he often was concerned in merchandize, and obtained great fums by it; and Ruddiman allows that the valuable metals were never fo plentiful in Scotland as in his reign; nor must it be forgotten that he first worked the gold mines discovered in his kingdom. His greatest foibles were fqueezing money from the purfes of his fubjects to fill his own coffers *; in shewing a marked dislike to Parliaments; in an unbounded paffion for the fair fex; in yielding to early prejudices against England; and in his partiality for France; for this terminated his life and reign. Henry VII. and VIII. ever treated him as a fon, and brother; and the latter, to flew the entire confidence he had in him, offered when he declared war against France, to create him Duke of York, and leave him Regent of England when he passed into the former kingdom: yet regardless of this, of a folemn treaty of peace, and of that duplicity which had ever marked the conduct of the Gallican Court to his predecessors, he had the weakness, from the vanity that arose from the attention the Christian powers had paid him, to conclude one of the most extravagant treaties that the annals of Europe can witness, binding himfelf to protect Lewis XII. and Charles, Duke of Gueldres, in " defiance of the Pope and all Italy, of the Emperor and all Ger-" many, Henry VIII. and all his dominions in England, Ireland, " or elsewhere; of the King of Arragon and all Spain; the Go-" verness of the Netherlands, and all Holland, Brabant, Flanders: "the State of Venice, and the Cantons of Switzerland." The Kings of the houses of Bruce and Stuart had been accustomed to unite with France in guaranteeing the fuccession of their Crowns to

^{*} These sums, which James IV. obtained improperly, he did not hoard; and he had the prudence, if not the virtue, to discontinue the practice, and to punish the Empfons and Dudleys of Scotland.

to their descendants, because the Kings of England claimed a right PART VII. to both kingdoms; Henry VII. and VIII. had each figned treaties of K. James 14. peace with James, which none of the former Kings of England had done on that account for a very long feries of years, and by it had virtually renounced all title to the Crown of Scotland; yet did he, against the sense of his subjects, against the earnest entreaties of his amiable Queen, then great with child, not only fign this treaty, but to ratify an extravagant demand made upon him by the Queen of France, who stiled him "her knight," though she was not perfonally known to him, nor either young or beautiful, to invade the dominions of his more powerful brother-in-law, and this only that he might "break a spear in honour of her Christian Majesty." But as if one false step was only a prelude to another, he suffered himfelf to be infnared by the beauty of the daughter of Lady Ford, and betrayed by the mother; two captives he seized whilst in England, perhaps purposely thrown in his way as decoys; fo that his return to Scotland was cut off. At Flodden the armies engaged, and as he fcorned either to retreat, or to wait at a small distance the event, he fell Sept. 9, 1513, furrounded with the dead bodies of his loyal and faithful nobles. Such was the end of "a battle " rashly undertaken, unfortunately conducted, and fatally termi-" nated." Though his precipitation was ruinous to Scotland, yet his death was more deplored than that of any former Sovereign; fo great are the charms of clemency, condefcension, and liberality in a Prince. Their forrow too was augmented, because there was no house of the least eminence but what mourned a husband or a son. He was much devoted to the religion of his ancestors, and to the Papal Court. His pilgrimages to St. Ninian in Galloway, and the shrine of St. Duthae in the county of Ross, have been ascribed as much to the love of "fair maids," as the relicts of "holy faints;" but as his Queen accompanied him in one of his pious expeditions, we have no right to place it to any other motive than mistaken devotion; perhaps to assuage the divine wrath for the part he had taken in those misfortunes that ended his father's days; for he had ever fuch a detestation to that transaction, and horror in having

PART VII. headed the malecontents, that upon especial occasions, as a mark K. James IV. of humiliation, and as fome atonement for it, he wore round his waist an iron chain, which each year had an additional link; but he never punished any of those who were concerned in the revolt; fo that he was praifed for his filial piety, and his mercy, being fevere only with himfelf. It is noticed of him that he excelled in healing wounds, a practice common amongst the chieftains of Scotland, who were ever at war with a foreign enemy, or some of the neighbouring clans. His temperance at table was exemplary, and it enabled him to combat with the greatest hardships, and endure those fatigues that others would have funk under; and he gloried in braving every danger, travelling often unattended through the most barbarous parts of his dominions. His excess in the pleasures of love were directly opposite to this self-denial; his amours after his marriage were unpardonable; he did not even abflain from the daughters of his nobility: this was one of the blemishes in a character generally most estimable. But his espousing the cause of Perkin Warbeck, and giving him a relation in marriage, with his extravagant declaration in favour of France, to forward her schemes against Italy, when she could not defend her own territories, feem to justify what has been faid, that he had too much knight-errantry in his composition, and that "his character was "that of a fine gentleman, and brave knight, rather than a wife " or great Monarch." But it must be confessed that Scotland at no time, whilst a separate kingdom, was so respectable abroad, or so peaceful, rich and happy within herself: never were letters, arts and arms, united there but by him; nor did ever a Scotch fleet ride triumphant upon the ocean, but when commanded by his admirals. In fine, he made the Scotian diadem shine with a more resplendent lustre than it was thought capable of. At his death he was more than forty years of age, and had reigned more than twenty-five. He was of the middle fize, strong made, and of a majestic deportment. The Scots speak of the beauty of his face, but his coins, which correspond with the engraved portraits of him, do not impress me with that idea: his face is long and thin,

his hair straight, coming as low as his shoulders, and so much are PART VII. his features like those of Henry VII. that he might have been K. James IV. fupposed his fon, instead of fon-in-law. This has caused Mr. Pennant to observe, upon mentioning his portrait, still preserved in one of the apartments of the Duke of Hamilton, in the palace of Holy-rood, that as it fo greatly refembled Henry VII. he was tempted to think it the portrait of James V. who was descended from the daughter of Henry. But James V. has a very different countenance. Befides, the father had no beard, the fon first adopting it in the family. That accomplished writer, and most amiable person, describes the portrait as giving the King "in black, with ermine, the hair lank and fhort." Mr. Granger gives four engraved portraits of him-" Jacobus IV. Rex Scotorum, " a thistle in his left hand. 4to. James the Fourth, ermine robe; " 8vo. Jaques IV. a bust; Vander Werft, p. G. Valek sc. h. sh. " James the Fourth, &c. Stentexc. 4to, which is one of the fet " of the Kings of Scotland, in which are a short sketch of their " lives."

The day following the battle of Flodden the body of K. James was found extremely mangled; many of his wounds were mortal; the arrows had galled him much; his neck was opened to the middle, and his left hand in two places was nearly separated from his arm; the corpfe was eafily known, by fome private marks, by Lord Dacre, Sir William Scot, Sir John Forman, and others, then prifoners to the English. It was conveyed by the conquerors to Berwick in a hearfe, and there embowelled, embalmed and cered, then inclosed in lead, and secretly, with other things, taken to Newcastle; his coat armour was presented to Q. Catharine, who, Sept. 16, wrote to K. Henry a letter, dated from Woborne, in Bedfordshire, in her way to "our lady at Walsingham," in which fhe fays, "My husband, for hastiness of Rouge-Cross I could not " fend your grace the piece of King of Scot's coat; I thought to " fend himself to you, but our Englishmen would not suffer. It " should have been better for him to have been in peace, than to have

PART VII. "his reward. All that God fendeth is for the best. My Lord of K. James IV. "Surry, my Henry, would fain know your pleasure in burying of " the King of Scot's body, for he hath written to me fo. With " your next meffenger your grace's pleasure may be known herein; " and with this I so make an end, praying God to send you home "fhortly; for without this no joy here can be accomplished." Henry was then in France; he immediately applied to the court of Rome for leave to bury the royal corpse, for as he died under a fentence of excommunication, the funeral rites could not otherwise be performed: Leo X. returned in answer, that as he was credibly informed that he had shewn " some signs of repentance, for the " crime that had occasioned his being excommunicated, in the last " agony of his death," he empowered Richard, Bishop of London, or any other, to make the proper inquiries, and, if true, to comply with Henry's defire, provided that monarch undertook " to per-" form fome pennance in behalf of the deceafed King of Scotland." From Newcastle the body was brought to London, and presented to Q. Catharine, at Richmond, where the then refided; and the neceffary formalities having been complied with, it was royally interred in the adjoining monastery of Sheen; but when that house was dissolved it was taken up, and in the reign of K. Edward VI. thrown into a fpare room with old timber, lead, and stone, where some of the workmen wantonly cut off the head, which was taken by a young glazier to Q. Elizabeth, who was ftruck with its sweetness, arising from the embalmed materials; the man kept it for fome time at his house in Wood-street, London, but at last gave it to the sexton of St. Ann's church, in that street, who buried it among the promiscuous bones in the charnel house. Mr. Guthrie, who wonders that the Scots did not claim the body of their beloved and lamented fovereign, thinks it was because his dominions being also " under "the cenfure of holy church," could not have buried it; but the general consternation and ferment, the expence and trouble, and the number of illustrious heroes who also had found untimely graves at Flodden, fufficiently excuses them; for otherwise they might

have kept the departed king until all impediments, had ceased, PART VII. and then have buried him where, and how they had pleased.

K. James IV.

For a device he used the representation of two rugged rocks in the midst of a tempestuous sea, and for a motto, " Durabo;" and not long before his fatal expedition, he published an elegant medallion, which gives his buft in profile, with a closed crown of one arch, adorned with the order of St. Michael, of which he was a knight companion, inscribed "Jacobus 4 Dei Gratia rex Scotorum," upon the reverse a Doric column elevated upon a rock in the midst of a calm fea, between two promontories, on its capital a lauriated head of James, with the word "Utrumque," allufive to his flability and vigilance, in watching the two great contending interests in Europe, whilst his own dominions were secure from both, by his own prudence and circumspection; and it would have been a just emblem had he not taken any part in the disputes that divided Europe, but as a mediator and umpire; at least until he had feen how the fate of kingdoms had been decided, for each was fo equal that a fingle power might have turned the scale after the war had been some time continued.

Margaret, Queen of K. James IV.

It had always been intended that K. James IV. should marry a Princess of England; it was first designed that he should espouse Cecity, second daughter of K. Edward IV. to which, in 1474, the Court of England assented, though the parties were children, and Edward paid in Edinburgh yearly a sum of money according to the articles of the treaty for the fortune of his daughter; but in 1479 James III. breaking off his friendship with the Court of London, one of the ostensible reasons for Edward's sending an army into Scotland was, to demand the repayment of the money that had been advanced, and all prospect of the union of James and

PART VII. Cecily vanished *. Richard III. had many reasons to wish for the Margaret, O. of alliance of Scotland, he therefore, in 1484, concluded a treaty of K. James IV. marriage between this Prince and Ann de la Pole, the daughter of John, Duke of Suffolk, by Elizabeth, that Monarch's fifter. Every requifite was fettled, and she was stiled Duchess of Rothsay; she was at that time supposed the nearest Princess to the crown of England, as her brother, the Earl of Lincoln, had been declared by Richard heir to his dominions; but upon the death of the King, her uncle, she quitted the title of Rothsay, having lost all hopes of becoming Queen of Scotland . Amongst the intermarriages proposed in 1487, between the families of K. Henry VII. and K. James III. it was agreed that James, then Duke of Rothfay, should marry one of the fifters of the Queen confort, and daughter to the late K. Edward IV. but which of them was not mentioned; but the violent death of K. James III. prevented this marriage taking place, fo that in the following year the Parliament enacted, "that as the King was of age to marry with a noble Princefs, born and " descended of a noble and worshipful house," that an honourable embaffy should be fent " to the realms of France, Brittany, Spain, " and other places, to be nominated; to advife, treat, and con-" clude a treaty of marriage;" and to make it the more splendid, the embaffy should consist of a Bishop, an Earl, or Lord of Parliament; a Secretary, (who then was generally a clergyman) and a Knight, and they were to be allowed fifty horsemen to attend them, and to receive for their expences 5,000l.; the clergy and barons were each to raise 2,000l. and the remaining 1,000l. was to be supplied by the burghs; the embaffy had the power to renew the ancient league with France; and what appears the most extraordinary, a herald, termed " a trufty esquire, was to go abroad to reconnoitre " the feveral courts of Europe for a fit match for the King," fuch

^{*} The Princess Cecily became the wife of Lord Wellers, created by K. Henry VI. a Viscount, and afterwards to one Kyme, a private person, residing in the county of Lincoln.

[†] Ann de la Pole, after the battle of Bosworth, became a nun at Shene.

was the simplicity of that age; but from various causes the matter FART VII. lav dormant until 1491, when the affair was renewed with the greatest Margaret, Q. of vigor, and Henry VII. was applied to, June 14, in that year, to K. James IV. grant a passport to Robert, and William, Bishops of Glasgow, and Aberdeen, the Earls of Bothwell, and Morton, the Prior of St. John's, the Lords Glamis, and Oliphant, with Richard Murhead, Dean of Glasgow, and 100 attendants, to travel through his dominions, to Charles, King of France, and the King and Queen of Spain, and other countries, with the fame instructions that the former ambaffadors had received. James certainly looked at this time to a continental connexion, and the more fo as his exiled fubiects had proposed to deliver him and his brothers into the hands of Henry VII. who embraced the proposal, and promised on his part a bribe, equal to the treason; but finding they had not the power to execute what they had promifed, and that James gave the greatest indications of genius, Henry not only embraced terms of amity, but in 1493, to bind this monarch still closer to him, proposed a marriage between him and "the most serene Princess Catharine, " his cousin, daughter of Eleanor, Counters of Ormond and Wiltshire, daughter of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, his great uncle*; but James and his council treated the proposition with contempt, as a marriage beneath his dignity, and probably it was made because she was the only lady of the blood royal of the Lancastrian

^{*} Fleanor, Countess of Ormond and Wiltshire, was daughter of Edmund, second Duke of Somerset, and eldest sister of Henry and Edmund, third and sourch Dukes of that title, and became a co-heiress of the latter. She was the second wise of James Boteler, Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, who leaving her a widow without children, she re-married to Sir Robert Spencer, of Spencercromb, in Devon, Knt. Captain of Homet and Tomelin in Normandy, and by him she had two children, Catherine, mentioned above, and Margaret; Catherine afterwards married to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and became progenitress of the subsequent noblemen of that title; her infer married to Thomas Cary, of Chilton Foliot, Esq. from whose two sons, John and William, descended the Viscount Falkland, and the Barons Hunsdon, Earls of Dover and Monmouth; and the Earls of Berkley. Margaret, K. Henry VII.'s mother, was the only child of John, the first Duke of Somerset, eldest brother of Edmund, the second Duke; so that Catherine and K. Henry were first cousins.

PART VII. branch, who was of a fuitable age. Though the Scots agreed to Margaret, O. of the truce, yet the next day their Parliament renewed the subject of the King's marriage with a Princess of France, or elsewhere, adding 1000l. to the 6000l. already granted, and voted another 1000l. " for the honorable home bringing of the Queen," yet nothing appears to have been done; in the following year K. Henry plainly evinced how much he wished to unite James to his family, by making him his fon-in-law, though his daughters were fo young and feemed for that reason improper, as his subjects looked eagerly for an heir to rest their hopes upon; and in 1495 his commissioners, appointed to conclude a treaty of peace, proposed an alliance with the Princess Royal of England, the most illustrious lady Europe had to offer; but the childhood of Margaret prevented James from making any hafte; and Henry feeing his coldness, also remained quiescent; this gave some spur to the Scotch monarch in 1495, especially as the English council had shewn a repugnance to the alliance, fearing, that in failure of the male branch, James, or his fucceffors, should be called to sit upon the throne of England; Henry could not, however, then suppose that his youngest daughter ever should marry Louis XII. King of France, then much in years, and who at that time had a wife; fome disputes having arisen upon the borders, James, fore with the obstructions he had met with in the English council, in a passion swore that " nothing in " the course of nature was more certain than that there could be no " peace between the people of England and of Scotland;" but a fuitable apology from Henry, and the skilful negociation of the Bishop of Durham, procured in 1500 a truce, and a treaty of alliance between James and Margaret, though she was only ten years and a half old; but as they were within the fourth degree of confanguinity, a dispensation was applied for and procured, and the terms of peace having been fettled by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Earl of Surry, with the Archbishop of Glasgow, Earl of Bothwell, Great Admiral of Scotland, and Warden of the West Marches, and the Bishop of St. Andrew's; agreeable to their plenipotentiary powers, dated Octo-

ber 8, 1501; and in January, 1501-2, the long-wished event, the PARTVII. alliance between the houses of England and Scotland, was effected, Margaret, Q. of and the terms agreed upon at Richmond, which were, "First, K. James IV. "That James, King of Scotland, shall at Candlemas next, in " person, or by his proxy, marry the Princess Margaret, who, on the last day of November by passed, had attained to the full age of twelve years, and that no exceptions shall be made against " their confanguinity or affinity, both having been beforehand dif-" penfed with by the fovereign Pontiff. Secondly, That the faid " Princess shall be convoyed at the charges of the said King, her " father, and delivered to her faid husband, or any impowered by " him to receive her, at Lamberton-kirk, about the beginning of "September, 1503, and not till then. Thirdly, That before the " first day of July, 1503, the said Princess shall be legally infeft " and feized in all lands, caftles, &c. which the Queen dowagers " of Scotland usually enjoy; and if all these lands be not found to " yield the yearly revenue of 2000l. English, or which was the " fame, 6000l. Scots money, that her faid husband shall assign her " as many other lands as will make up the deficiency. Fourthly, "That the faid Princess shall be allowed to have always by her at " least twenty-four servants of the English nation, men or women, " as the shall incline, over and above her Scottish domestics, and " that all these shall be entertained at the charges of the King, her " husband, who shall give her every year the sum of 1000l. Scots, " or 500 merks sterling, by equal proportions, at the feasts of " Easter and Michaelmas, to be disposed of at her pleasure. " Fifthly, That in case of the death of the said King, her hus-" band, she shall be allowed to reside within or without the king-"dom, yet her whole jointure, amounting to the aforesaid sum of " 2000l. sterling, or 6000l. Scots, shall be faithfully paid. Sixthly, " That the King, her father, shall pay for her portion, to the faid ' "King James, her hufband, 30,000 pieces of gold, called angel-" nobles, or the equivalent in the current coin of England; " whereof 10,000l. paid at Edinburgh eight days after the confum-" mation of the marriage, other 10,000 on the same day of the

PART VII. " ensuing year, 1504, at Coldingham, and the last 10,000 towards Margaret, O. of "the end of the next year, 1505. Seventhly, That in case the said K. James IV. "Princes shall chance to die without issue, before the complete pay-" ment of her portion, the remainder unpaid shall be no more due; but if the shall chance to leave iffue behind, then the whole shall " be faithfully paid, as if the was alive." That this alliance between the two crowns might be a bleffing to both nations, by another treaty it was agreed that there should " in all times to come be " a fincere, complete, and inviolable peace, friendship, and league between the most illustrious and excellent Princes James, King " of Scotland, and Henry, King of England, their heirs and law-" ful hereditary successors, their kingdoms and subjects, whether " ecclefiastic or laic," and this under the penalty of excommunication to fuch who broke the peace entered into. In 1502, Henry sent James a lift of such whom he chose to attend upon his daughter with the appointments they were to receive; James acquiesced, but told the avaricious King that he had no right to fix the fums his wife's domestics were to be paid for their attendance; in 1503 Henry fent Lord Dacre, Robert Sherborn, Dean of St. Paul's, John Carryngton, and Richard Erynton, Esq. to take infeoffment of the lands fettled in jointure, which James affigned, and which were to confift of the forest of Etic, and manor or fortress of Newark; the county of March, the lordships of Dunbar and Cowbranspeth, the lordship and palace of Linlithgow, the lordship and castle of Stirling, the earldom of Monteith, the lordship and castle of Down, and the palace and lordship of Methven; Mr. Guthrie, from whom much of this information is drawn, fays, the record does not inform us of the precise parcels of those lands which belonged in dowry to the former Queens of Scotland, and those which were added to make up the jointure 2000l. sterling a year; but he thinks none were, as the rental of land was at that time increased in the kingdom. As nothing can give the reader so good an idea of the state of Britain at that period, and especially of Scotland, I. shall continue to be as particular as I can respecting the nuptials, flattering myfelf that it will be both amufing and inftructing. Mar--

garet was affianced when only fourteen years of age, being born PART VII. Nov. 29, 1492; the bans were published at St. Paul's Cross Ja. Margaret, nuary 25, 1504, when hymns were sung in the churches of London, James 17. attended with great feaftings, bonfires, and other amusements; Pope Julius II. was fo pleafed with the marriage, that he fent James a superb sword of state and diadem, consecrated upon Christmas day. June the 16, the Princess having received many . rich jewels and other valuables, left the palace of Richmond, in Surrey, accompanied by her father, and all the chief nobility and gentry of England, attended by more than two thousand followers, and the most splendid equipages then in use *. Henry conveyed her to Cole-weston, in the county of Northampton, where his mother, the Countels Dowager of Richmond, refided, and after spending some days in the utmost mirth and festivity, having given her his bleffing, and what advice he judged necessary, committed her to the care of the Earls of Surrey and Northumberland, and who conducted her, with the great train of noblemen, knights, ladies. and gentry, to Berwic, in the exact order they had prescribed them, until they came to the borders of Scotland, where many of them were permitted to bid her adieu; but those that continued were sufficient to make a royal appearance. At Lamberton church, in Lamyrmoor, the was met by K. James, with a fuperb fuit of his nobility and officers of state, by whom she was conducted to Dalkeith, and next day to Edinburgh, where the marriage was celebrated with incredible fplendor. In honor of the nuptials, balls, tilts, and tournaments were proclaimed; these engaged the illus-

[&]quot;Mr. Guthrie fays, "I have feen the originals of the papers transcribed from Henry's own hand-writing by the heralds who were to superintend the procession: they contained the number and quality of the bride's attendants of both sexes, who were to vait upon her at the several places where she stopped or lodged, the manner of their relieving each other, and the several duties they were to perform about her person." It must have been extremely curious, and deserved a place in an appendix, Young, Somerset herald, wrote of the Fyancells of the Princess Royal of England, together with "her departure from England, journey into Scot-well and, her reception and marriage there, and the great seass held on that account,"

Margaret, Q of K. James IV.

PART VII. trious foreigners, as well as the British nobles, in the day; and the evenings were spent in the more fost pleasures of dancing and masks: never was such a splendid assembly at any time before or fince feen in Scotland, drawn thither by the far-extended fame of the royal bridegroom, who bore off the prize in most of the feats of strength, activity, and address; it seemed, however, extraordinary, that the elegant James should put himself at the head of what he justly called "the favage company," who, armed with targets and heavy fwords, fought to the music of their bagpipes; their dress and behavior was novel; but it must have been a horrid fight to view these really-savage highlanders, not striving barely to overcome, but either to effectually maim or kill their adversaries: their loss, as the King observed, was no injury done to fociety; but a great and puiffant monarch should have thought them deserving of reformation, and making them worthy of the community, but on no account should have difgraced his court and hurt the feelings of ladies by customs contrary to religion, humanity, and decorum; if he had fuch rude subjects he should have kept them in the back ground, confined in his region of Boreas, in the recesses of his most northern mountains. Amongst the many illustrious strangers there, the most distinguished was M. D'Arcie, who stiled himself Le Sieur de la Beautie, famous throughout Christendom for his gallantry and valor; but when he tilted with Lord Hamilton, coufin-german to the King, they were so equally matched, that neither could boast of any superiority. The politeness of James even more diffinguished him than his chivalry, fo noble was the entertainment, and so elegant the attendance paid to every illustrious guest. It is scarce possible to believe what all historians and writers are agreed in, that in general the Scotch nobles, ladies, and gentry, far outshone the English in these festivities, " in costly apparel, " rich jewels, maffy chains, habiliments fet with gold, and in " gallant and well-trapped horses";" but courtiers follow the ex-

^{*} It must be acknowledged that the Earl of Northumberland exceeded every other in magnificence at the royal marriage, " in the richness of his coat, being gold-

ample of the Prince whom they ferve. James was young, gallant, PART VII. and magnificent, fond of pomp and shew; Henry, old, retired, Margaret, Q. of frugal to that extreme, that he became a mifer, and so averse to the K. James IV. expensive manner in which his nobles had lived, that he punished one of them for an excess, when it was done to shew his dutiful loyalty, whilst honored by a visit; besides too great a splendor on their parts would only, by their riches, have tempted his avarice; nor could the English have overcome the dreadful havoc in their fortunes, occasioned by the civil wars of York and Lancaster, which had continued for fo long a time; however, making all the allowance possible, it gives us very great ideas of James, and evinces what an extensive commerce he must have established, to impower him and his subjects to not only rival, but exceed, the English in the brilliance of their establishments, especially when " even the most sober luxuries were then unknown in the courts " of Denmark and Sweden, and the other northern parts of Eu-" rope." That the reader may also form a just opinion of the poetic genius of the Scots, called forth upon occasion of these rejoicings, I subjoin a note of Guthrie's, describing the poem of Dunbar, written in honor of the Queen, incomparably the finest and most picturesque of any in the English language preceding it: the poem is written in the form of an allegory, the month of May appears in her proper attributes to the author, and commands him to attend her, and to celebrate her Rose. He follows her, being then day-break.

- " And as t'ie blifsful fun drave up the fky,
- " All nature fang throu comfort of the light;
- " The minstrels, wing'd with open voyces, cry,
 - "O lovers, now is fled the dully nicht,
 "Come welcome day, that comforts every wicht,
- " fmith's work, garnished with pearl and stones; and for the costly apparel of his
- " henxmen, and gallant trappers of their horses, besides 400 tall men, well horsed,
- and apparelled in his coolers; he was eftermed, both of the Scots and Englishmen,
- " more like a Prince than a subject."

PART VII.

Margaret, Q. of
K. James IV.

- " Hail May, hail Flora, hail Aurora shene,
- " Hail Princess Nature, hail luve's handsome quene."
- "Though these are far from being the best lines in the poem, yet
- "I have quoted them to give the reader some idea of the author's descriptive powers, and how well he had studied Lucretius, a
- deferiptive powers, and now went he had readed Edeteracy a
- " classic who in those days was very uncommon. But to proceed
- "in the allegory. Queen Nature summons the animal creation,
- " and all the flowery productions of May to attend her and to do
- "her homage, she employs the swift-footed roe to be her messen"ger to the beasts; the restless swallow to the birds; and the yar-
- ger to the beaits; the retties twallow to the birds; and the yar
 - row to the nowers. The reader, we doubt not, will be pleased
- " to see a description of James's person under that of a lion, which
- " was his armorial bearing."
 - " All brocht in were, in twynkling of an ee,
 - " Baith beift, and bird, and flowir before the Quene,
 - 4 And first the lyon, greatest of degre,
 - "Was fummon'd ther, and he fair to be fene,
 - " With a full hard countenance and kene,
 - " Before dam Nature came, and did inclyne,
 - " With vifage bauld, and courage leonyne.
 - "This awful beift was terrible of cheir,
 - " Perfing of luke, and flout of countenance;
 - " Right strong of corps, of fasson fair, bot (without) feir;
 - " Lusty of shape, licht of deliverance;
 - " Reid of his colour, as the ruby glance;
 - "In feild of gold he flude full rampantly,
 - " With flowr de-Lyces circlet pleafantly."

James expressed himself so contented with his bride, that immediately after the nuptial sestivities were passed, he not only confirmed her jointure in Parliament, but in addition, insecs, by Sir Hugh Campbel, of London, Sheriss of Air, the Lordship of Kilmarnoc, and he seemed only to seek the pleasure of the Queen, giving the remainder of that year to diversions of various kinds, at Falkland and his other palaces. Young as Margaret was, she shewed great prudence whilst she shared the throne with James; and when

he determined to break with England, the joined with all his wifest PART-VII. and most aged counsellors to diffuade him from his rash design; Margaret, Q. of K. James IV. the even played upon that superstition by which he was sometimes fwayed; the procured a venerable old man to fpeak prophetically of what the event would be when he was at public prayers; and to give it more the air of a preternatural thing, the supposed prophet, by pushing through the multitude, did, as it were, vanish instantly, and could not be discovered; but seeing all her arts fail, she set forth the folly of complying with the felfish defires of Ann, the French Queen, which endangered his crown and life, conjuring him to reflect in what fituation, if he fell, she, his son, and his dominions must be left; urging too her condition, then peculiarly unable to bear fo great a stroke; concluding, that " if you will " go, take me with you, for the English will shew more kindness " to me than to you; and perhaps in the absence of K. Henry I " may meet the Queen, my fifter-in-law, who may be with the " army, and if we meet, who knows what God, by our means, " may bring to pass:" but unheedful of her good sense, tendernefs, tears, and intreaties, he abruptly left her; to return no more. Margaret claimed the regency of the kingdom, and guardianship of the infant fovereign, from the will of the late King, which was affented to: fhe then supplicated the merciful compassion of Henry. her brother, for herself, her son, and his subjects; to which he replied, " if the Scots wished war he was able to withstand them; if " peace was their object, he would cultivate it." Had Henry in vaded the kingdom during their consternation, and when deprived of fo many of her bravest and most experienced generals and counfellors, devastation and ruin must have ensued; but listening to the perfuasions of a beloved fifter, he defisted from that vengeance which the occasion and his haughty temper might have broughts upon them, so that the Queen was a bleffing to Scot and. Margaret was only twenty-feven years of age when she became a widow, and felt in its full force all that energy of love which the children of K. Henry VII. were fo remarked for; a passion probably derived? from the " white," not the red. " role;" no-fooner therefore was: 2.



the recovered from her lying-in, than the gave her hand to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, " who united the talents of the " gentleman, the statesman, and the soldier;" he was about the fame age with herfelf, was rich and powerful, and paffionately fond of the widowed Queen. Scotland could not have offered her a more proper marriage; but it was too precipitantly concluded, for neither the English monarch nor the Scotch Parliament were confulted; they were united August 14, 1514, not quite eleven months after the King's death; delicacy demanded a longer space, though James had not been, it must be confessed, a husband that deserved the greatest affection. The deprivation of her power followed, the Parliament transferring the Regency to the expatriated Duke of Albany, who, with difficulty, could speak the language of the people he was called upon to govern; she bent to a storm she could not oppose, and she received him with much civility; endeavouring foon after to withdraw into England with her two fons, and place them under the protection of K. Henry, their uncle, the was furprifed in Sterling caftle with them, and they were intrusted to the care of four Scotch and French Lords. Finding her schemes defeated, she fled with her husband and Sir George Douglas, his favourite brother, to Tentallon; then to Berwic; from whence the obtained a convoy to the nunnery of Coldstream: from this place the fent to the English Court, to know her brother's pleasure. Henry behaved with affection, affigning her, Lord Angus, and Sir George, Harbottle castle for their residence, and put them under the protection of Lord Dacre: here she was obliged to remain, until she was delivered of the child, a daughter, she was heavy with; Margaret, the infant, was born October 7, 1516; Henry, upon her recovery, invited her and the Douglas's to his capital, which she accepted; but they, without leave, unhandfomely left the kingdom, and returned into Scotland, having made their peace with the Regent. She was royally conducted to London, and in May made her public entry into that city, in her way o Greenwich, where the English Court was; Baynard castle, in Surrey, was affigned her; there, in honor of her, the King, on

the 19th and 20th of that month, " prepaired and kept folemn PART VII. " justs, whereunto the King, the Duke of Susfolk, the Earl of Margaret, Effex, and Nich. Carew, Esq. answered all commers." She James IV. rendered herfelf very popular, by uniting with the Queen of England, and her fifter, the Queen-mother of France, to obtain a pardon for 400 apprentices, and other mean persons, of London, for raifing an infurrection upon the first day of May in the following year, (thence called evil May day) which was occasioned by the hatred and jealoufy they entertained against foreigners; but the inflexible monarch fuffered these truly-royal fisters to be folicitors to him for a long time upon their knees, before he would permit mercy to triumph over justice. It is fingular that the dispersed family of K. Henry VII. should, after so many years separation, all meet together again; her fifter also had exchanged the embraces of a fovereign for a subject: it is pleasing to observe Henry VIII.'s behavior to them, though they feemed to have flooped beneath their birth by their fecond marriages. Margaret, who had come into his dominions an exile, without any thing to diftinguish her from a private gentlewoman, was treated by him as a Queen, and allowed every thing proper to that exalted rank; and both to his court, and back again to Scotland, she was most honorably attended. The Regent having left Scotland, she fet out upon her return thither May 18, 1517, receiving from K. Henry every thing a daughter of England and a Queen of Scotland could want, as jewels, plate, tapeftry, money, horses, and every thing else that she could defire, though by the preceding treaty her jewels and moveables were to be restored her within three months, upon her resigning what she had belonging to the King, her son; and the Regent undertook that he or his Lieutenant should take care to pay her dowry regularly, and it was also stipulated that she might reside in either Scotland or England, as she should chuse, and that she should visit the young King whensoever she pleased, and without any passport. She was received by the Earl of Angus at Berwic, June 13, when they proceeded together into Scotland; but a coldness was visible in her behavior, owing to the knowledge she had of his

indulging a criminal passion for a lady he had concealed in Douglas-Dale, at a time too when the had become an exile from her ton's L. James IV. dominions for her attachment to him. pride and love, affection therefore turned to fcorn and hatred; nor did he much court a reconciliation-a Douglas was too haughty to fubmit. At this time she must have suffered extremely in her mind, having loft her posthumous fon, left an infant daughter in England, and precluded from vifiting the King, her eldeft child; the cause assigned for this cruel infraction of the treaty was, lest she fhould obtain his person, and convey him into England. The Earl of Angus, unable to rest content, seized upon the government in the absence of the Duke of Albany, the Regent, in 1520, the Scots flocking to his standard; but upon the return of that Prince, in the following year, he was so enraged at his conduct, that he banished him. Angus retired into France, but was invited into England, much against the consent of Margaret, for at this early period she seemed determined to be separated from him by a divorce; and partly to mortify him, and because she would support fome degree of government amidst the confusion that disgraced the kingdom, she joined the Regent, and even honored him so far asto accompany him in his triumphal entry into Edinburgh; this foexasperated the King of England, that he not only threatened the Scotch Parliament for supporting the Regent, but accused her of leaning to the French interest, so contrary to his; mistaking from the erroneous intelligence fent him, that the Duke favored the divorce, (which he could never agree to, as reflecting upon her honor) he thought that he might marry her, and fet the crown upon his own head; but as the Parliament was convinced that the Regent was unfeignedly attached to the person of his royal ward, they vindicated him from the afperfion, as a thing improbable " in one whose virtues and noble conduct in life had been always " answerable to his high rank and lineage, especially as he must, " to do it, abandon his own wife, who was still living, and had " brought him a great fortune;" concluding, " that in good truth " we firmly believe, " that neither the Queen's grace, nor he,

" ever entertained any such notion." Margaret's affection was then PART VII. engaged to the young gentleman the afterwards married, and the Margaret, Q. of most spiritedly resented Henry's accusing her of supporting the French instead of the English interest, declaring, that had he properly aided her endeavors, she would have caused Albany to retire: her conduct was most meritorious, and a bleffing to both nations, in preventing bloodshed between them, acting as a mediatrix, equally preferving the honor of the Regent and Henry, and this though war was declared twice by the former; the armies of each marched to the frontiers, but the English would not enter Scotland, nor could the Scots be prevailed upon to act otherwife than upon the defensive, by any perfuasions the Regent could use; and as he faw no diversion would be made to favor the court of France, to which he was fo much devoted, he refigned his troublefome post in 1523; and by the money Wolfey fent from England, she won over many of the nobility, so that a truce was obtained at "the " special pursuit and request of that excellent Princess, Queen "Margaret," with the English, and order began to be again established. Seeing herself at the head of affairs, she strove to keep free from the controul of both England and France, evincing by it the affection of a mother for the King, and a true friend to the interests of his subjects; but she was not permitted to remain long thus happy: against her most earnest and pressing remonstrances the haughty Cardinal demanded the return of an husband odious to her, but he was recommended to ask a reconciliation in the most humble manner. The partiality of the English minister was to effectually prevent the return of the Regent, and to keep the French from influencing the Scottish nation; but incapable of moderation, he won over the discontented Lenox, Argyle, Hume, and the Archbishop of St. Andrew's; and with his uncle and his brother, having usurped the government, acted rather as conquerors than subjects; for though it had been agreed that four spiritual and four temporal peers should have the custody of the minor king, and his dominions, each for one month alternately, and that nothing should be done without her approbation and confent, yet no manner of

3

PART VII. regard was paid to these regulations, which were not indeed dic-Margaret, Q. of tated by wisdom or prudence; perhaps at no time in that century K. James IV. was Scotland in greater disorder than during the triumvirate of the

Douglases; the King, though of an age to guide himself, was an absolute prisoner, indulged with every criminal excess, but not suffered to leave the confinement they kept him in a moment, and all who dared to oppose them were proscribed; assassions disgraced. every part of the kindom, and they openly indulged their revenge, by publicly murdering those who murmured against them. Margaret, stripped of all power, and unable to visit the imprisoned King without meeting the detested Angus, retired to her palace of Falkland; but in 1526, the scheme she had to liberate K. James, her fon, failing, the fought and found protection with the Earl of Murray, in Murray-land; but here her mind, unbroken by the peculiarity of her fituation, obtained the divorce against the Earl of Angus, he having been cited by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who pronounced her freed from him, under pretence of a pre-contract he had made with the daughter of Lord Traquir, and by whom he had a daughter, (a falvo at that period for terminating difagreeable marriages) but there was a restriction, "that the child " come of the Queen and the Earl, during the time of this mar-" riage, by the ignorance of the mother, the Queen, should not " fuffer any lofs, damage, or difadvantage." The Earl made little or no opposition, and immediately after she gave her hand to Henry Stuart, a younger fon of Lord Evandale; it was in vain that K. Henry, her brother, urged her to the contrary; trying to diffuade her, by faying in his letter to her, that "there were some " things quite shameful for women to do, that were pardonable in " men;" but love and courage lent her resolution: she was a true "Tudor;" but even this gentleman was near being fnatched from her, for in that unfuccessful attempt of the King to escape from the Douglases, in which the Earl of Lenox fell, he and his brother were feized, and they would undoubtedly have been put to death, if the King had not, by the advice of their friends, kept them prisoners under his own eyes, and she for some time lay con-

cealed in a mean difguife, until finding that no inquiries were made PART VII. about her, she went to her residence in Falkland. After numerous Margaret, Q. of stratagents, James, in the habit of a yeoman of the stable, escaped to Falkland, to the Queen, who had been treated with fuch contempt and infignificance, that her refidence was the only place in the kingdom unfortified; this reftored her fon to the crown, and herfelf to that power and happiness the had long lost: the regained too her favored Henry, and what perhaps was equally pleafing, faw her former husband and his relations proscribed; the King folemnly fwearing that Scotland should never hold him and them, and that he never would recal them from banishment; a sentence the least their crimes demanded, for Sir George Douglas had menaced the King in these words: " Sir, rather than our enemies should take " you from us, we will lay hold of your person, and should you " be torn in pieces in the struggle, we will carry off part of your " body;" as they declared they never would make any fubmiffion, the was likely to be freed from them for ever, and they never did return into Scotland, except aiding the English, all the reign of K. James V. but Henry VIII. treated Lord Angus, and his uncle and brother, with a generofity that did him honor; and in return they joined his arms in all his attacks upon Scotland, much to their discredit. After the death of K. James V. he was recalled and reflored to his ritles and estates; he endeavored to effect a union between the two kingdoms, by the marriage of Prince Edward with Queen Mary; but when he found the Scots averse to it, though he had invited the English to invade the kingdom, to accomplish it, yet he came into the field to repel them; and when accused of ingratitude by Henry, he replied, " Is our brother-in-law offended "that I am a good Scotfman, and because I have revenged the " defacing the tomb of my ancestors at Melross, upon Ralp Iwers; " they were better men than he, and I ought to have done no " less; and will be take my life for that? Little knows K. Henry " the skirts of Kirnetable, where I can keep myself from all his " English host;" and probably finding that England could no longer afford him an afylum, he took the command of the van of

Margaret, Q. of 1547, where his courage was conspicuous, but where he lost that K. James IV. friend of his fortune, Sir George, his brother; and he was obliged to wield to the superiority of the English, commanded by the Duke of

friend of his fortune, Sir George, his brother; and he was obliged to vield to the superiority of the English, commanded by the Duke of Somerset, the maternal uncle, and guardian of K. Edward VI.; he behaved afterwards with dutiful fubmiffion to the Queen dowager of K. James V. Regent for her daughter, Queen Mary, but lived the last years of his life in retirement in his castle of Tantallon, where he died in 1556; K. Henry II. of France had honored him with the order of St. Michael: he was possessed of very considerable abilities, but they were lost in his ambition and ferocity to accomplish and retain what he could seize: his want of delicate tenderness was what probably occasioned the Queen's dislike to him, or at least her not-overlooking his want of constancy; so that if he was capable of captivating, he was unable to retain the affections of Margaret, the eldest daughter of England, and widow of Scotland; after the divorce from her, he married Margaret, daughter of John, Lord Maxwell, by whom he had a fon, named James, but he dying in his father's life-time, he furrendered up his honors and manors, that a fresh grant of them might be given, after his death, to David, the fon of his favorite brother, Sir George. Earl Archibald's body lies buried in the collegiate church of Abernethy, in Perthshire, the burial place of some of his progenitors, and where his monument still remains. Her Majesty surrendering up Methven to her third husband, he was created Baron of that place, the crown granting it to him in fee, conditionally that Margaret gave up Sterling castle. James V. also made him master of his ordnance, and he received between the years 1530 and 1546 grants of the lands of Gallowayshiels, Streselee, Girglestone, Nether-Gorthy, &c. as he was a person of considerable abilities, graceful in his person, and polite in his behavior, Margaret seemed happy in her felection of him; her fon also ever treated her with due tenderness and affection*; but she felt greatly for the imprisonment

^{*} James V. I believe, punctually paid his mother's jointure, which had before been feldom attended to, for in 1521 it w. s still ulated to be in future faithfully discharged, as it was also in 1526.

of her other child, the Princess Margaret, whom Henry VIII. fent PART VII. to the Tower, for daring to think of marrying without his concur- Margaret, Q. of rence; this was a most sensible grief to the Queen dowager, her K. James IV. mother, who paffed the last days of her life, sometimes in Scotland, and fometimes with her in England, where, had it not been for this feverity towards her daughter, she meant to have finished her life; falling ill at Methven, the died in a few days, in the year 1542, and was royally interred near the remains of K. James I. in Perth, the King, her fon, with his nobility and gentry attending her funeral. It is fingular that two of her three husbands furvived her, one of whom was married again; and Lord Methyen, the other, foon after united himself to Lady Janet Stewart, daughter of John, third Earl of Athol, sprung from a widowed Queen, who also had re-married a gentleman of the Stewart family; by Lady Janet Lord Methven had Henry, fecond Lord Methven. father of Henry, the third nobleman of that title, in whom it became extinct, and three daughters, Janet, married to Colin, fixth Earl of Argyle; Dorothea, to William, first Earl of Gowrie; and Margaret, to Andrew, heir apparent to Lord Ochiltree, and afterwards to Utchtred Macdoual, of Garthland. Lord Methven, their father, fell, in 1547, at the battle of Pinkie, or Muffelburgh, though he had agreed to the marriage of Mary, his fovereign, with K. Edward VI. Queen Margaret was undoubtedly greatly to be pitied, K. James IV. her first husband often deserted her embraces, and feemed by the war, that proved fatal to him, to have abandoned her; and the Earl of Angus, whom the felected in preference to all others, wronged her in every possible way; and she was often debarred the privilege of the meanest, in having not only the last husband withheld for some time from her, but frequently denied the confolation of a mother, in having the company of her children, though her maternal tenderness has never been questioned; nor was fhe less unhappy in her public fituation of governess of her fon's dominions; for the was once driven from the kingdom, at other times difgraced and rendered a cypher; and as she was by nomeans deficient either in love to his subjects or abilities, we may

PART VII. close the relation, by averring, that the deferved a far better fate: Margaret, O. of In the china closet at Windfor is an original picture of her when a child, with her two brothers, Arthur and Henry, painted, about the year 1496, by J. Maubeugius, which is most capitally engraved in a large sheet by Vertue; there is another engraved portrait of her, inscribed, Marguerite A. Vander Werff. P. G. Valck, sc. Four French verses; h. sh. The children of Q Margaret, by K. James IV. are given in a future page. By Archibald, Earl of Angus, she had a daughter, named Margaret, born at Harbottle castle, in the county of Northumberland, in 1516, and most carefully brought up by her uncle, K. Henry VIII. in his court, who gave her in marriage to Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, whose grandfather espoused the Princess Mary, daughter of K. James II. This lady was of exquisite beauty, extremely beloved by K. Henry; but it was the misfortune of this pair that they descended from Princeffes who had married subjects, and were not distantly related to the crowns of England and Scotland; all the posterity of the daughters of K. Edward IV. and K. Henry VII. who remained in the kingdom, were perfecuted from jealoufy, and most of them died upon the scaffold. She was the object of Q. Elizabeth's fears, and he of those of the Scottish nation: his father, in endeavouring to release K. James V. from the Douglases, his personal enemies, met his death, not in the carnage of the field, but was basely murdered after the battle, most sincerely lamented by his grateful fovereign; this, his fon, was obliged to leave Scotland, and was received with kindness by the court of Paris, until the Scotch faction prejudiced the French monarch fo much against him, that he was obliged to fly to that of London for protection; he offered Henry the isle of Bute, and the castles of Dunbritton and Rothfay, but he was incapable of fulfilling this engagement; however, the King fettled 170 mercs yearly upon him, treated him with regard, and married him to his niece, the beautiful and amiable Margaret *, with whom he refided in England, until Mary,

^{*} This folitary exile lived to triumph in his turn over his rivals, the Hamiltons, by sceing his own son seated upon the Scottish throne, and to be Regent to his

Queen of Scots, restored him to his country and honors, when she PART VII. had determined to marry his son, Lord Darnley. Elizabeth in vain Margaret, Oat recalled him: after the Earl of Murray's death he was proclaimed.

Regent during the minority of his grandfon, K. James VI.; but he neither knew the characters of the heads of the factions, nor had abilities fufficient for that tuniultuous office. After an administration of fourteen months, he was furprized by his enemies, and whilst leading away under the guard of David Spence, to prevent any violence to his person, he was mortally wounded in the back by an hired ruffian, notwithstanding all the endeavors of Spence to protect him; after languishing a few days, he died in Sept. 1571. He was an amiable, but not a great character. Margaret, his wife, the ornament of the English court, was the constant butt for fortune to shoot her most envenomed arrows at. She told Camden that she was " thrice imprisoned in the Tower, not for any crime of " treason, but for love matters," the greatest crime the Princes of the blood could fall into, because it continued their pretensions to the crown. Henry VIII. confined her for daring to love and be beloved by Thomas, Lord Howard, fon of the Duke of Norfolk: but the young nobleman, convicted of fecretly affiancing her, dying in the same prison, set her at liberty in 1537; the second time was on account of the marriage of her eldest son Henry with the Queen of Scots, from the information of the French and Spanish ambaffadors, that she had acquainted the Scottish Queen that all Elizabeth's opposition to her Majesty was mere grimace; but Queen Mary ordered her ambaffador to expostulate about so severe a treatment of her " father's fister:" the third time was, when her other son Charles married, which fo displeased the enraged haughty Elizabeth, that she shut up both the mothers of the young people. She was not only a lady of great goodness of heart, but of an excellent understanding; and it was chiefly by her dextrous management

infant grandfon, who afterwards succeeded to England, and held the sceptre of both kingdoms, by one of which Lenox " had been cast out a criminal, and by the other " received as a sugitive."

PART VII. that Q. Mary married her fon *. She lived to bury all her chil-Margaret, Q of dren, and was never fuffered to go into Scotland to her husband, K. James IV. whose violent death, and that of her eldest son, K. Henry, must

whose violent death, and that of her eldest son, K. Henry, must have been dreadfully fevere shocks; Sir William Cecil acquaints the ambaffador to France, Sir Henry Norris, that "the Queen's " Majesty sent yesterday my Lady Howard, and my wife, to " the Lady Lenox to the Tower, to open this latter matter unto " her; who could not be by any means kept from fuch passions of " mind as the horribleness of the fact did require." She died in London March 10, 1577-8. greatly beloved; even Elizabeth, from whom she had suffered so much, did justice to her exalted merit, when she was no longer dangerous, by burying her in the chapel of K. Henry VII. at her own expence, and in a most pompous manner +; an author gives us her character concifely thus: "She was a matron of fingular piety, patience, and modefty." In both Dart's History of Westminster Abbey, and Sandford's Genealogical History of England, are engravings of the superb monument erected to her memory; part of the infcription deferves a place here. "She had to her great grandfather K. Edward IV.; " to her grandfather K. Henry VII.; to her uncle K. Henry VIII.; " to her cousin german K. Henry VI.; to her brother K. James V. " of Scotland; to her fon K. Henry I.; to her grandchild K. " James VI. Having to her great grandmother and grandmother "two Queens, both named Elizabeth; to her mother Margaret, "Queen of Scots; to her aunt Mary, the French Queen; to her "cousin germans Mary and Elizabeth, Queens of England; to "her niece and daughter-in-law Mary, Queen of Scots." An

^{*} Margaret, Countess of Lenox, sent, with ample promises, many presents to the principal persons in Scotland, to bring them into her measures; to the Queen a fair diamond, as a token; and an emerald to her own husband, Lord Lenox, then in that kingdom; a diamond to Lord Murray, Mary's illegitimate brother; a watch set with diamonds and rubies to the Secretary Lidington; and a ring, with a ruby, to Sir Robert Melvil; and probably presents and letters to many more.

⁺ It is not improbable but the aversion of Elizabeth to Lady Lenox might arise from her having, with the Duches of Suffolk, had precedence in the reign of Q Mary, who affected to treat her as illegitimate.

affinity so illustrious is scarce to be paralleled in history. The iffue PART VII. of this Princess was four sons and four daughters, fix of whom Margaret, Q. of died in their infancy, and whose names are unknown, except K. James IV. Henry, one of them, buried in Stepney church, when he was only nine months old. Henry, the cldeft furviving fon, became King of Scotland, by the marriage of his relation, Queen Mary; and Charles, who had the title of Earl of Lenox, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendish, ancestor of the Dukes of Devonshire; he died when only twenty-one years of age, and was buried in the fame vault as his mother. His only child was Arabella; she was called by Lord Henry Howard, in a letter he wrote to the Earl of Marr, Nov. 22, 1601, my Lord of Shrewfbury's idol, and speaks of her as one he was extremely partial to, faving " of whose idol's sublimation, or at the least, of a purpose "to make her higher, by as many steps as ascend to the scaffold, "if the follows fome men's counfels." By which it appears that there either were fears or pretended ones of this lady in fetting herself up as a contender for the crown of England, which is some little excuse for James's suspicions. The King, in answer to this letter, mistaking Lord Henry Howard's figurative one, that the Princess, and not Lord Shrewsbury, was ill, says, "I am from " my heart forry for this accident fallen to Arabella; but as na-" ture enforces me to love her as the creature living nearest of kin " to me, next my own children, fo would I for her own well that " fuch order were taken, as the might be preferved from evil com-" pany, and that evil-inclined persons might not have access unto " her to supplant her abusing of the frailty of her youth and fex; " for if it be true, as I am credibly informed, that she is lately " moved by the perfuasion of Jesuits to change her religion, and " declare herfelf Catholic, it may eafily be judged that the hath " been very evil attended on by them that should have had greater " care of her, when persons so odious, not only to all good Eng-" glishmen, but to all the rest of the world, Spain only excepted, " should have had access to have conferred with her at such lei-" fure, as to have disputed and moved her in matters of religion."

PART VII.

Margaret,
Queen of K.
James 1V.

"She was," fays Mr. Lodge, in his valuable Illustrations, "a " very accomplished person, whose name is scarcely mentioned in " history, except with regard to Raleigh's ridiculous conspiracy, " by which she was to have been placed on a throne to which she " had neither inclination nor pretenfions, and by means unknown " to herfelf." As this gentleman gives fo good a relation of this unfortunate lady, I shall transcribe from him, and in his own words, as near as possible. "She was born about the year 1578," probably earlier, some fay three years sooner, " and brought up " in privacy, under the care of her grandmother, the old Coun-" tels of Lenox; who had for many years refided in England. "Her double relation to royalty was equally obnoxious to the " jealoufy of Elizabeth, and the timidity of James, and they fe-" cretly dreaded the supposed danger of her leaving a legitimate " offspring. The former therefore prevented her from marrying " Esme Stuart, her kinsman, and heir to the titles and estates of " her family, and afterwards imprisoned her for liftening to some overtures from the fon of the Earl of Northumberland; the lat-" ter, by obliging her to reject many splendid offers of marriage, " unwarily encouraged the hopes of inferior pretenders," among whom, as we may fairly infer from fome paffages in his letters, given in Mr. Lodge's collection, was the fantastical William Fowler, Secretary to Anne of Denmark. "Thus circumscribed, " fhe renewed a childish connection with William Seymour, grand-" fon to the Earl of Hertford, which was discovered in 1609, " when both parties were fummoned to appear before the Privy "Council, and received a fevere reprimand. This mode of pro-" ceeding produced the very consequence which James meant to " avoid; for the lady, fenfible that her reputation had been " wounded by this inquiry, was in a manner forced into a marriage, " which becoming publicly known in the course of the next Spring, " fhe was committed to close custody in the house of Sir Thomas " Parry, at Lambeth, and Mr. Seymour to the Tower. In this " state of separation, however, they concerted means of escape, " which both effected on the fame day, June 3, 1611, and Mr.

"Seymour got fafely to Flanders; but the poor lady was taken in PART VII.

"Calais Road, difguifed in men's clothes, and imprifoned in the Margaret Q. of

"Tower, where the fenfe of these undeserved oppressions opera." K. James IV.

"Tower, where the fense of these undeserved oppressions opera-K. James IV. " ting too feverely on her high spirit, she became a lunatic, and " languished in that wretched state, augmented by the horrors of " a prison, till her death, on the 27th of September, 1615." She was buried in the fame vault as Mary, Queen of Scots, in K. Henry's chapel, where, fays Sandford, "I have feen her lead cof-" fin without any monumental inscription." Her death was greatly lamented by the English, with whom she had ever been a favorite; and as Sir Thomas Overbury had been poisoned in the Tower some time before, the public voice was fo loud, knowing how ill she had been used, that James, to pacify it, was obliged to have the body opened, and the physicians certify that she died a natural death, occasioned by a chronic diforder. She was very amiable, learned, accomplished, and beautiful, yet James seems to have thought her only useful in acting the part of chief mourner at the funerals of his female relations. Her letter to the Earl of Shrewfbury*, lately published by Mr. Lodge, does her the greatest credit; for it " bears a fufficient teltimony of the good fense, refined education, " elegance of manners, and lively disposition of the writer." Facing the third volume of the Illustrations is a fine engraving, giving her, in a three-quarters length; the features, delicate, regular, and animated; the hair dreffed much as it is now worn, except that behind and over the shoulders it flows in vast profusion, and to an uncommon length: it is an interesting portrait. Vertue del. Basire sc. 1791. The Earl of Orford has a good copy of a portrait of her in water-colors, from a painting at Welbeck: there is a

^{*} The Earl of Shrewsbury, we may suppose, greatly interested himself in behalf of the Lady Arabella; for Lord Lisle writes to his Lordship, "I have yet done little "in the matter of my Lady Arabella; I fear the Queene's inclination, and the doubt "that it will be an entrance to put the whole matter down. My Lady shall command me and my best services, and much the more, seeing that your Lo. doth "make yourself a party." This was in 1606, and then the Queen appears not her kind stread.

PART VII. print of her, which is very rare, infcribed, "the picture of the Margaret, O. of "most noble and learned Lady Arabella Stuart, fold by George K. James IV. Humble, J. W. sc. small 4to. Also a picture of her, taken in 1589, when between thirteen and fourteen years of age; that represents her as very beautiful; "a complexion as fair as alabaster, " fweet large grey eyes, and long flaxen hair, flowing almost to " her waift, and finely curled at top." Nothing can evince the purity of her mind and the innocency of her conduct more, than Fowler's account to the Earl of Shrewsbury of the manner in which fhe employed herself. He says, "My Lady Arabella spends her "tyme in lecture, reiding, hearing of fervice, and preaching, and " visiting all the Princesses;" he adds, " she will not heare " of marriage;" the letter was written October 3, 1604. Her good fense particularly was shewn in her prudent deportment before the Lords appointed to examine her and the Countess of Shrewsbury relative to her escape from confinement, for Mr. Moore told the Secretary Winwood that she answered the nobleman "with good " judgement and difcretion," whilit Lady Shrewfbury acted " ut-" terly without reason." What has been said of this lady will effectually filence the mistaken opinion given of her person and abilities by the writer of her life, given in the Biographia Britannica, where he fays, "She was far from being beautiful in her person, " and far from being diftinguished by any extraordinary qualities " of the mind;" to make the latter appear the more plaufible, he mistakes the conduct of the Countess of Shrewsbury for this lady's, a circumstance equally careless and blameable. I cannot but here observe, that with a mind naturally chearful, what must have been her unhappiness when all her letters to her brother-in-law invariably run thus:

" Sweet brother,
" Every one forfakes me,
" But those that cannot help
" Your most affectionate fister,
" Arbella Seymaure."

Poor ill-fated Arbella, your first cousin and nearest relation, PART VII.

K. James I. in whom you ought to have found the frien! and pro-Margaret Q. of K. James IV.

tector, regarded all your virties, all your accomplishments, as rendering you the more dangerous rival of his greatness! She had two children, who died infants.

There is only to be added, that Queen Margaret had by Lord Methyen, her third hufband, an only fon, named Henry, who died in his infancy.

Children of K. James IV. and Q. Margaret.

Issue of King James IV. by Q. Margaret.

- 1. James, born at the palace of Holy-Rood, Feb. 21, 1507-8, James. Hiled Prince of Scotland and the Isles, and Duke of Rothsay; he died at Sterling July 14, 1510, where he was attended by the Bishop of Galloway, who had the care of him.
- 2. Arthur, so named from his uncle, the Prince of Wales, was Arthur. born Oct. 9, 1509, but died a child.
- 3. James, who became King by the stile of James V. See the James, afternext part.
- 4. Alexander, posthumous, born in Sterling castle in April, 1514, Alexander. baptized by the Bishop of Caithness, and died Jan. 15, 1516-17, whillt his mother was in England: he was buried in the abbey church of Cambuskeneth; authors speak much of his extraordinary beauty, and that he bore the title of Duke of Rothsay. Should it not be Ross?
 - 5. Two daughters, who died infants.



Illegitimate iffue of K. James IV.

Illegitimate Children of K. James IV.

By Margaret, Daughter of Archibald Boyd, of Bonshaw.

Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrew's.

1. Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and Legate a Latere, also Chancellor of Scotland, born in 1493; he was brought up with the utmost care, and sent abroad to improve himself; his features were handsome, his person tall and graceful; in his temper he was amiable, prudent, learned, and magnisscent; a good civilian, an admirer and judge of music; beloved and honored by Erasmus, who has left us his character most elegantly expressed: he was a son worthy such a father, deserving the care of the accomplished Dr. Panter, Secretary of State, who was inferior to none in Europe in the knowledge of the Latin tongue, which he wrote with a purity only excelled by the above learned Dutchman. The Archbishop sell at Flodden, more lamented than any other person, his royal father alone excepted: his death was a great missortune to his country.

Catherine

2. Catherine, married to James, Earl of Morton.

By Margaret, eldest Daughter of John, Lord Drummond.

Many fay that K. James made honorable love to this lady, his fubject, and that not all the intreaties of his counsellors could induce him to break off this connection; but as a dispensation from Rome was necessary to authorize the nuptials, as she was related to him, he was obliged to wait; but some envying the Drummonds, who had already given one Queen to Scotland, privately dispatched the unfortunate fair before it arrived; if these circumstances are true, she and her child deserve a much more honorable

place than in this page: it reminds us of K. Robert II.'s first mar- PART VII. riage.

Illegitimate iffue of K. James IV.

3. Jane, married to John, heir apparent of Lord Huntley, from Jane, from whom descend the Earls of that title.

whom defcended the Earls of Huntley.

By Jean, or Janet, daughter of John, Second Lord Cassilis, whom the King was enamoured of when he went, in 1507, a pilgrimage to St. Ninian, or Whitethorn, in Galloway, to implore mercy for his Queen, then dangerously ill, and pregnant; a strange contradiction, in thus uniting superstition and gallantry; solicitude for his Queen, and a criminal passion for another: he met in Archibald, the fifth Earl of Angus, a rival in the affections of this lady, and who, unmindful of offending his fovereign, carried her off, for which the enraged James confined him for some time to the ifle of Arran; but the became, notwithstanding, the third wife of that nobleman.

4. James, created Earl of Murray in 1501, and received from James, Earl of his father many grants of lands, as he did also several baronies Murray. and estates from his half brother, K. James V. He died in 1544, leaving by his Counters, Margaret, daughter of Colin, third Earl of Argyle, an only child, Mary, married to John, fon and heirapparent to the Earl of Buchan; and as the title was adjudged a male fief, it became extinct.

By Isabel, daughter of James, Earl of Buchan, second son of Sir James Stewart, the "Black Knight of Lorn," by Joan, Queen Dowager of K. James I.

5. Jean, married to Malcolm, third Lord Fleming, Chamber- Jean, Lady lain of Scotland, flain at Pinkie or Musselburgh, 1547; from this Fleming. marriage descend the Earls of Wigton.

PART VII. Illegitimate iffue of K.

6. Catherine, married to James, Earl of Morton, by whom she had three daughters; from them are many descendants.

James IV. Catherine, Countels of Morton. mond.

7. Jannet, who became the wife of Sir John Drummond, of Innerpeffry, whose only child, Isabel, matried to Sir Matthew Jannet, wife of Campbel, of Loudon.

PART VIII

PART VIII.

James V. King of Scotland.

KING JAMES V. the only furviving legitimate child of K. James V. King James IV. except a posthumous one, who died an infant, was born April 5, 1511, and crowned at the early age of one year and fome months, February 24, 1512-13. His dominions and himfelf were entrusted to the care of the Queen, his mother, his cousin, the Duke of Albany, or the Earl of Airan, just as the different factions that rent the kingdom prevailed. That eminence to which Scotland had been raifed in naval power, in police, arts, magnificence, and fplendor, had totally disappeared during his minority, with the fame feeming enchantment as it had been introduced by the late King. The navy almost destroyed, murders and robberies were committed with impunity; no rank exempted any one, and it was fufficient to indemnify the perpetrators, to declare that he was the partizan of a Douglas; trade, and with it all the elegancies, and many of the necessaries of life were no more. The treasury was empty; the aisenals and magazines unfurnished; and the palaces decaying, stripped of all the fuperb and costly furniture that had adorned them in the late reign. James felt the injuries done him, and instantly fet about reforming the abuses that had sprung up. By some laudable and fome blameable means he again filled his coffers, fupplied himself with arms and ammunition necessary, as well for defence as invasion; restored, in some measure, his sleet, and travelled with the fwiftness of an eagle after those banditti that lived upon the plunder of the honest and industrious; he failed to the ifles; he traversed the Highlands; he visited the borders, where thieving was reduced to a science, and the guilty prided themselves in their wickedness; the chief of these was Armstrong, who had the effrontery to mock the majefty of his fovereign by

of Scotland.

PART VIII. appearing before him attended with fix and twenty armed gentlemen James V. King on horseback sumptuously habited: James, mistaking him for some nobleman of high rank, returned his falute; but finding whom he was, pointing him out, faid, "what does that knave want that a "king should have, but a crown and a sword of honor?" and, notwithstanding all his offers of jewels, money, and other gifts, ordered him and his followers to be hung: * as this arch plunderer went to execution he had the audacity to fay to the monarch, " fool that I am "to look for warm water under ice, by asking grace of a graceless " face." By fuch prompt and feafonable feverity order was reftored, and to preferve it he appointed regular judges; but men, fo long accustomed to a lawless course of life, regarded this and other innovations of a like nature as cruel hardships, and abridgements of their native liberty. His palaces again became fuitable to his dignity 4, and he established various manufactories: for this purpose he invited, "gunners, wrights, carvers, painters, malons, fmiths, " harnefs-makers, tapefters, broadfters, taylors, cunning chirur-" geons, apothecaries, and other kind of craftimen." Nor was any fovereign more attentive to the complaints of the poor; they had always access to his person; he heard their grievances with attention, and relieved their injuries with speed; and, for the good of all his fubjects, he reftored the wife, but long-forgotton, laws. " Every " cottage exulted in his glorious epithet of King of the Poor." He also taught his subjects submission to parental authority by his dutiful conduct to his mother; and temperance by his own fobriety. Nor

was he without a knowledge of all those martial exercises that were

^{*} Lindfay of Pittfcottie fays, Armstrong also told King James "But had I known " this, I should have lived on the borders in despight of King Henry and you both; " for I know that King Harry would weigh down my best horse with gold to know " that I were condemned to die this day,"

[†] To form an idea of the grandeur of the Scotch court at its establishment in the zeign of King James V. when the Earl of Angus was minister, take the names of the officers, which were a treasurer, comptroller, secretary, Mr. Macer, Mr. Household, Cupper, Carver, Mr. Stabler, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Falconer, Mr. Porter, and a fool, called John Mackilrie.

then so highly esteemed; and conversant both in what related to PART VIII. trade and mineralogy: Scotland never, whilst a separate kingdom, James V. King a tempted to excel in the tirft, nor has ever again strove to work of Scotland. the gold mines of Crawford Moor, -a fufficient proof how much these depended upon his own judgement. Though his education was fo much neglected, he had taken himself some trouble to improve it; his understanding was good, and he shewed no small genius in a humorous poem, intitled "The Gaberlunzie Man:" the literati have flewn themselves partial to him; Ariosto paid great compliments to his memory under the name of "Zerbino," as did feveral other Italian poets in elegant Latin; and Ronfard, a native of France, has also spoken highly of him; there is not, however, much to be depended upon from these encomiums: in Italy James' genius was unknown; and Ronfard faw him only as the ally and fon-in-law of his fovereign, and perhaps too as his own benefactor. It must be owned that Scotland advanced much higher in the scale of importance after his majority, than whilft he was in his tutelage; the greatest of the Christian monarchs courting an affinity with him, and offering him their relations, trying also to win him by admitting him into their most illustrious orders or knighthood; he was graced with those of St. George, the Golden Fleece, and St. Michael; we read too of a magnificence in his reign that never afterwards appeared in this northern kingdom: as a specimen I will mention the entertainment he received from the Earl of Athol in 1538, in the Highlands, whither he went to hunt; it unites elegance with grandeur, and is very greatly expressive of the wealth of his kingdom, and of its rapid improvement, for it was foon after his attaining the possession of his power. To this most beloved sport of hunting, the Queen mother, foreign Ambassadors, with their court, were invited: in a pleasant meadow in the wilds of the rude majestic scene they found a palace, no way deficient to any of the royal ones in Europe in space or conveniencies, built of green timber tied together with flender twigs; and this was three stories high, with glazed windows; and there were four well-imitated block houses at each corner; the floors were laid with turf, in which were all the flowers then in

PART VIII. bloom, as if they had been each a garden, with two great forts on James V. King the ficie of the gate, and a portcullis formed of trees falling down in the manner of a barrace; the whole inclosed by a can'al of fixteen feet deep and thirty in breadth, the only paffage leading to the palace was by a drawbridge. The infide walls were hung with fine tapestry and filk arras, not inferior to the palaces of his majesty at Falkland or elfewhere, and the viands were equal to the furniture, there being "ale, beer, wine, both white and claret, malvery, " muskadel, hippocras, aquavitæ, wheat bread, main bread, and gin-" gerbread; with fleshes, beef, mutton, lamb, veal, venison, goose, " griel, capon, coney, crane, fwan, partridge, plover, duck, " drake, briffelcock, and pawnies, blackcock, and moor fowl, " cappercaillies." The canals abounded with "delicate fish, as " falmons, trouts, perch, pike, eels, and every other fresh-water " fish," that could be procured and placed there; and as suitable attendants, there were "proper stewards, cunning baxters, excellent cooks, and pottingars, with confections and drugs for their deferts, " the halls and chambers had coftly bedding, veffels and napery," all fuitable to the illustrious guests, who remained there three days and as many nights: the novel and splendid scene greatly astonished the Pope's Nuncio, as there was no town nearer than within twenty miles, and he had always thought that Scotland had been the most terrible part of the world, especially this northern extremity, where was nothing but wood and wilderness *; and he was still more furprifed, when he faw that immediately upon their leaving the palace it was fet on fire, faying "I marvil, Sir, that you should thole (order) " your fair place to be burnt, that your grace has been fo well lodged " in :" to whom the King answered, "this is the use of our Highland "men, though they be never fo well lodged, to burn their lodging "when they depart." Lord Athol expended upon their fplendid entertainment 1000l. each day, a fum of great importance at that period. In Athol and Strathern James killed no less than "600

^{*} The Pope's Nuncio, in expressing his wonder at such magnificence in Scotland, not very politely added, because it was called the a-e of the world by other countries.

animals, i. c. harts and hinds, with other small beasts, as roes and PART VIII. " roebucks, wolves, foxes, and wild cats." But whatever praise is James V. King due to James for his justice, probity, and temperance,-for his sup of Scotland. plying his castles and forts with artillery and ammunition, - for the magnificence he displayed, or for the encouragement he gave to learning, arts, manufactures, and commerce, - yet unfortunately thefe virtues were more than balanced by the vices that difgraced his character. He punished often with too great severity; sometimes revenge actuated him more than justice; and his condenning Joan, fifter to the Earl of Angus, to the flames, more for her attachment to her brother, than difaffection to him, shews a ferocious barbarity; for to wreak his vengeance upon the Douglases, by putting a lady of exquisite beauty to so dreadful a death, was a wickedness only paralleled by his tyrannic fanguinary uncle, Henry VIII *. Joan met her fate, horrid as it was, with a Roman courage, and fell beloved, pitied, lamented by all: Lord Glamis, her husband, in endeavouring to escape from his prison, by the rope being too short, fell and was dashed to pieces; their fon, a child, was confined during the remainder of this reign. Nor was he less criminal in persecuting the protestants, whom he doomed to the stake, though he was confcious that Rome and her priesthood wanted much reformation; yet, their intercessions could not save his relation, Sir James Hamilton, descended from the Princess Mary, daughter of King James II., though they pleaded most earnestly for him, as their wicked inftrument by which fo many had died martyrs to their opinions. In him religion was used merely as a state engine; he neither valued the tenets he burnt others for difbelieving, nor the clergy who taught them; for he made them the panders of his guilty pleafures; and they had the meanness to teek out women to gratify his inordin te passions; he constantly squeezed out vast sums from them, and faddled their preferments with heavy penfions; he even obliged them to do this for the maintenance of his natural children, as

^{*} Mr. Pinkerton ays, "that Lady Glamis was actually concerned in a plot of the house of Dougla against the lite, there is every room to believe, from original papers which will boon be laid before the public,"

James V. King of Scotland.

PART VIII. foon as they were born. Though in no time, nor in any country, were the clergy of the church of Rome more shockingly depraved than in his reign, yet either because, as Sir Ralph Sadler says, "they only were capable," or to shew his marked aversion to his nobility, he gave all the authority in his kingdom into their hands: yet those storms of passion, that never disgraced his father, would fall upon them; he even once taxed them as the cause of his cruelty to his Peers, to the peril of his crown; concluding, "wherefore " gave my predeceffors fo many lands and rents to the Kirk, was it " to maintain hawks, dogs, and w-s to a number of idle priefts; "the King of England burns, the King of Denmark beheads you: "I shall stick you with this wingar," which he probably had done, as he drew his dagger, if they had not, fearing his threats, hastily quitte I his presence. Though they were far too attentive in supplying his inclinations, yet James perhaps thought their revenue ought only to have been appropriated to the maintenance of what he fo much delighted in, -illicit amours, horses, hawks, and dogs: his passion for women was boundless; the most beautoous of his subjects, whether noble or plebeian, married or fingle, were conducted to him, and obliged to submit to his embraces whether they were willing or not. His partiality for France in opposition to England was impolitic to excess: Francis I. had nothing to offer him, but a dangerous friendship; Henry VIII. his uncle and nearest relation, courted him to accept his affection, a circumstance scarce credible in that haughty monarch; his nearness to the succession to the English crown ought to have made him joyfully accept the offer of Henry's friendship, and the honours and trust he before had proposed to his father, especially when Henry had only one child, a daughter, whom if he had married it would have brought him still nearer to the throne of England, and he would have enjoyed with her the marriage crown, if he had accepted her, in preference to a Princess of France; and if he had poffessed the prudence to have lived in peace with England, perhaps too he might have bequeathed both the British crowns to his posterity. Henry, after repeated insults in refusing him a personal conference, at the instigation of the justly-alarmed

clergy, at length renounced that regard he had always shewn him; PART VIII. the armies of each were drawn out, but his subjects refused to do James V. King more than defend their country from invalion; they and their fathers of Scatland. had felt the weight of Henry's arms at Flodden, nor had they any cause of complaint against him; they were neither actuated by revenge nor ambition; James could not forgive Henry's affording an asylum to the Douglases his enemies, and he is supposed to have been flattered with hopes of his uncle's being dethroned by the Roman Catholic powers, and himself placed in his stead; the nobles made no scruple therefore of manifesting, that they judged it a private quarrel of his own, and in which the nation had no concern; neither did they scruple to confess their dislike to his person and government, and even threatened to feize upon, and execute his ministers, as their progenitors had James III.'s at Lawder-Bridge; justly alarmed, he left his army at Fallamoor, and fled to Edinburgh; the English, who had at last made an inroad, were opposed by the Scotch army, but the moment they retired the Scots refused to follow them; whatever arguments James could use to persuade, they persisted in their determination, until Lord Maxwell, to gratify his fovereign, and retaliate for the devastations the Duke of Norfolk, the English General, had made, raised an army, and passed into the other kingdom by the way of Solway-Moss, destroying the villages as they went. Sir Thomas Wharton, warden of the marches, alarmed at the fmoking ruins. with others in haste got about 500 men, and with these few troops opposed an army of 10,000. No sooner were the English forces seen than the Scotch halted to proclaim their General, and read his commiffion, impowering him to take the command; the royal banner was displayed, when Oliver Sinclair, a court favorite, was seen advanced upon two tall men's shoulders; * amazement struck some indignation all; the nobility felt themselves insulted, and their fol-

^{*} Poor Sinclair lived to a great age; his patience having been worn out by the keeneft adverfity, he went to court in the reign of K. James VI., and attended the levee of that worthless minister Arran: as the whole of his dress spoke poverty, he was sternly asked by the favourite, his name and business; to which he replied "I am Oliver Sina" clair: "a lesson this, not only to Arran, but to other minions of fortune.

PART VIII lowers refented the supposed injustice to their chiefs; so that either James V. King from a premeditated plan, or the impulse of a sudden displeasure, fome hastily retired, and the others suffered themselves to be led away prisoners by a handful of English, whom they regarded less their enemy than their fovereign; the artillery was also lost, which could not be speedily repaired. James, who had foreseen a storm gathering, had long fuffered great oppression of spirits, spent his time anxiously waiting the event of the invasion at the castle of Lochmaber, or Carlevarock, twelve miles from this extraordinary scene, not daring to trust himself with his army. Information was brought of the defertion of his nobles; all the passions that could trouble the mind, or injure the human frame, feized him; removing to Falkland, he shut himself up, fearing surprizal by his chieftains, who had gone too far to feek, or think of, pardon; despondency overwhelm'd him, and there appeared a wildness bordering upon infanity: every thing alarmed, every thing reminded him of his fituation; the puiffant Henry without, his nobility within the kingdom, feemed to unite their wishes to effect his ruin: death only afforded him an asylum. from it; by the turbulence of contending passions, and almost a total abstinence from food, he soon brought himself to the threshold of the tomb, and the birth of his daughter, and then only child, conducted him into it; for whilft in the greatest perturbation of mind and feebleness of body, a messenger came with speed from Linlithgow, to inform him that his Queen was delivered of "a fair daugter;" he just articulated, "it will end as it began;" "the crown " came with a lass, and it will go with one: many miseries approach "this poor kingdom; King Henry will either mafter it by arms, or "win it by marriage;" giving his hand to be kiffed by his attendants, he lifted up his dying eyes towards heaven, then fuddenly turning his face to the wall, he faintly brought out the words "Solway-Mois," and fome other broken expressions relative to the difgrace he suffered there, and expired, December 13, 1542, having lived only thirtyone years and eight months.

> His remains were taken, January 14, from Falkland to Edinburgh, conducted

conducted by persons holding torches, others playing melancholy PART VIII. tunes, banners were also displayed, and the roads were lined with James V. King cloth; Cardinal Beaton, the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Rothes, Ma. of Scotland. rishal, and other noblemen attended, the first with his head muffled up, as chief mourner, the others, " with garments expressive of their " forrow," by his own defire his body was buried in the abbey church of the holy-rood, near that of the queen his first wife; but a great part of the church having been thrown down by the English some time afterwards, his grandson K. James VI., with a pious care, enbalmed it, and putting it in a new coffin, deposited it in another vault, and erected over it a costly monument, adorned with suitable arms, and other ornaments. At the revolution, the mob broke into the royal vaults, and treated the illustrious dead with a barbarous outrage: Dec. 2, 1768, the church itself fell in, when they were again disturbed; in 1776, Mr. Arnott saw the leaden coffin, but now no vertige remains of it. Mr. Pennant fays, a gentleman informed him, that he had feen the royal corpfes, but in a decayed state, though the beards remained upon some. Mr. Grose acquaints us, that they are now decently removed from the eye of idle curiofity.

Though this monarch was cruel, avaricious, and libidinous to the greatest excess, yet his death was a misfortune to his dominions; as they rapidly declined after, and never recovered their strength and riches whilst a separate kingdom.

James in his person was of the middle size, elegant and majestic, though strong and athletic, of a graceful behaviour; his sace was oval, his eyes blue, his nose aquiline, and his hair yellow; his seatures were handsome, as appears by his gold coins, which saithfully represent them; his money is of the finest workmanship of any then in Europe, and which have seldom since been excelled; he is the first of the sovereigns of his family that suffered his beard to grow; his was forked. It is singular, that when his money was of so since an execution, one of his great seals (for he had two) should be so miserably engraved. There are sive prints of King

PART VIII. James, Jacques V. a bult, Vanderwerf, p. p. a Gunst, sc. h. sh. James V. King of Scotland, Clark, sc. 8vo. James V. King of Scotland.

Scots, anno 1514, from Drummond's history of the four Kings of the name of James. James V. J. Taylor sculp, in armour, and scarf bare headed, engraved for Guthrie's history, this and James V. from a painting in the Duke of Devonshire's possession. Harding del. This is a most beautiful portrait, and evinces that the last-mentioned one is a sictitious engraving.

Magdalen, the first Queen of K. James V.

Magdalen, the First Queen of K. James V.

So equally poifed were the powers in Europe, that they eagerly fought to gain James by an alliance with a princess of their own family; the most natural was certainly with Mary, then heir apparent to K. Henry VIII. her father, who was his uncle, and nearest relation; this was, as it were, adopting him for his child, and fettling the imperial crown of England upon his head; in 1523, his guardians, together with the generality of the nation, affented to it; and in 1525, Henry was fo anxious for its completion, that though she had been promised to the Emperor Charles V. under a heavy penalty,* yet he would gladly have forfeited the fum to unite her to James; and in 1526, the parliament of Scotland confirmed the treaty of marriage; but he eluded this offer, flattering and substantial as it was. Henry having other children some few years after, the Scotch monarch, who had an invincible diflike to the English, though his mother was of that nation, turned his eyes towards France, whose sovereign, Francis I. gave him hopes, by the recommendation of the Duke of Albany, of conferring upon him his eldest daughter in marriage; this called forth the envy of the Emperor, who, in 1534, fent him the order of the golden fleece, and an offer of a vast treasure with either of these three princesses, Mary of Austria, his sister, widow of Lewis, K. of Hungary ; Mary, daughter of Emanuel, K. of

^{*} Mary, daughter of K. Henry VIII. and for feveral years held apparent to his throne, was born in 1515/16, affianced to K. James V. to the Duke of Orleans, and to the Emperor Charles V. but fucceeding to the crown by the death of her half-brother K. Edward VI. the married Philip II. King of Spain, fon of that Emperor, for whom the was as much too old, as the had been too young for his father.

[†] Mary of Audria was born in 1505, married to Lewis K. of Hungary in 1514,

Portugal, by Eleanora another of his fifters *; or Mary of England, PART VIII. his cousin, who now, as her father had divorced Queen Catherine Magdaler, the his aunt, he affected to adopt; but James, after expressing his grati- fire Queen of tude for the honor done him, declined marrying either of them; but not to refuse an alliance with the head of the Germanic body, he asked the hand of Christiana, daughter of Christiern II. K. of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, by Isabella, also a fister of Charles; but this was only finesse, for he knew she was then engaged to and having his family's predilections for France fo strongly rooted that nothing could counteract it, he fent over ambassadors to demand Magdalen, Francis I.'s eldest furviving daughter; but his most christian majesty declined it, urging her weakly state of health, recommending in her stead, his relation, Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendosme, and James ordered Beaton, then Abbot of Arbroath, afterwards Cardinal, to fend him some account of the lady, who advised him to marry her, and not listen either to the Emperor or the Pope, who, for interested motives only, wanted to make him at variance with K. Henry his uncle, and who in 1536,

who left her a widow without children in 1526; she never married again, but became governess of the Low Countries, where she ruled with great mildness and justice, from the year 1531 to 1536, and died October 18, 1558.

- * Mary of Portugal, afterwards married to the Emperor Charles V. who had offered her to James, she died in childbed in 1539; she was the mother of Philip II.
- + Christiana, the daughter of the deposed tyrant Christiern II. was born in 1573, and was married, first to Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, and afterwards to Fra. Duke of Lorrain; she died in 1590. It is observable that this Princess, and the two mentioned in the former notes, were very handsome, and ever conducted themselves with fingular prudence. She refused K. Henry VIII. during her first widowhood.

In 1530, fays Lindfay, " the King fent ambaffadors to the Emperor for marriage, . " viz. Sir John Campbell of Loudon, Knight, Sir David Lindsay of the Mont,

- "Lyon herald, who were received by the Emperor, and well entertained, and great-
- 44 ly rewarded for the King of Scotland's fake; where was presented to them the two
- " fair gentlewomen, which were the Emperor's filler's daughters, which were fair and
- " pleafant in beauty, and feemly in their behaviour, for the which cause the ambas-
- " fadors brought both their pictures to the King, and prefented them to him; how
- " he was content with them I cannot tell, but the marriage proceeded no farther.

Magdalen, the first Queen of K. James V.

PART VIII, was prevailed upon to confent to this marriage, conditionally, that James would grant him the often-demanded meeting; however this he again refused, and determining to effect an alliance with France, he set fail in this year, though much against the opinion of many of his subjects; and Sir James Hamilton had the courage whilst he slept, to steer again to Scotland; but no excuses or submissions could mollify the enraged King, who embarking again with many of his nobles, and other eminent persons of his court, as if they were in the fuit of Beaton; and himself an attendant upon John Tennant, they landed at Dieppe and paid a visit at the palace of Vendosme; whate, from a picture which he had fent over to her, the Princ is knew and owned him; finding himself discovered, he took the Dake and Duchefs in his arms, faluted them, their daughter, the ladies, and grandees who were there; no respect was omitted that could be paid to James; and there can be little doubt, but that the Duke believed he came purposely to demand the Princess his daughter; " music, "with galliard dancing in masks, and pretty farces, and plays, with " justing and running at the great horse;" and every other amusement known of, was practifed to please the Scotch monarch; a costly palace was prepared to entertain him, the apartments of which were decorated with coftly ornaments, and hung with "tapeftry of cloth " of gold, and fine filk; the floor laid over with green frieze, the " beds hung with cloth of gold; and a peal (circle) of gold fet with " precious stones, which was hung about the king's head when he " fat at meat; and the halls and chambers were perfumed with sweet odours, which were very coftly, and delectable to the fense:" but for some cause not well explained, James never proposed what the Duke of Vendosme supposed he came to conclude; for, swayed either by vanity, avarice, or a prior affection he had conceived for the Princess Magdalen, he returned to Rouen in his way to Paris; learning that Francis was going to Provence to attack the imperial forces, he resolved to join him, but the dauphin meeting James (by the French monarch's defire) in the chapel between Tarray and St. Saphorin, in the Lionnois, and having informed him that the Emperor had been obliged to quit the kingdom, they immediately purfued

their route to Paris, the dauphin treating him with the affectionate PART VIII. regard of a brother; and when they arrived there, he found in Fran-Magdalen, the cis the tenderness of a parent, who omitted no endearment that could first Queen of thew the fatisfaction he received in the fincere attachment he had manifested to France: it was, however, in vain that Francis urged him to marry Mary of Bourbon; James was bent upon uniting himfelf to the daughter of one of the most puissant monarchs; the splendor of the alliance dazzled him; when he first faw Magdalen she was in a chariot "on account of her ill health;" but this did not discourage him, the tender passion seemed to have mutually seized upon them, and they declared they never would confent to any other marriage, though the danger of going to fo inhospitable a clime was urged to her; and the phyficians declared that he must not look for an heir to his crown from this union. Francis, feeing that oppofition tended more to aid than decrease the flame, consented to their nuptials, though with the greatest reluctance. James instantly sent over the joyful news to Scotland, ordering an addition to his attendants of fix Earls, fix Lords, fix Bishops, and twenty great Barons, with whom he was " most familiar;" and they were directed not to leave their best garments behind them. They complied with their sovereign's defire, and the ceremony of marriage was performed Jan. 1, 1557, in the church of Notre Dame in Paris, in the presence of the Kings of France and Navarre, the Queen, Dauphin, and the other parts of the royal family, of feven Cardinals, of all the nobility of France, of great numbers of the Scotch nobles, befides a prodigious concourse of the first characters that the splendor of such an august meeting drew from the neighbouring nations. Ronfard, in a kind of epithalamium not inelegantly, and very minutely, describes. the persons of the royal bride and bridegroom; the Duke of Orleans, whose page he was, presented him to the Queen, when she left France, and whom he attended into Scotland. France displayed all her riches and gallantry to honour this wedding; nothing had ever equalled it before in that kingdom; but James even here made prefents worthy her fon-in-law, for he ordered a number of covered cupsfilled with coined gold, and frames of the fame metal to be presented:

Magdalen, the first Queen of K. James V.

PART VIII. to the guests as the production of Scotland, and he was the most conspicuous figure in all the martial games; as he had won the Princefs, fo he did every prize that was contended for at the ring. Magdalen had 100,000 crowns of the fum for her "loucher" or fortune, which was paid in ready money, and a pension of 30,000 franks was granted to James for life; in return for fo large a portion, she had Tettled upon her, all the manors which the Queens of Scotland had been used to have, with the additions of the Earldoms of Fife and Strathern, the palace of Falkland and other lands of the best, and most certain revenue: but if Francis was liberal in her fortune, he feemed much more so in the presents he made her, opening his jewel office and wardrobe to her; defiring her to please herself and not spare: The took thence circles of gold, and filk, jewels, chains of the precious metals, tapeftry, cloth of gold, velvet, fatin, damask, taffeties, and other filks to make up for cloathing, and this in fuch profusion, that Scotland had never witnessed such magnificence before, not even in the late reign; and James, now one of the family, received for himself presents still more valuable; all his expences, from his landing in France until his leaving it were borne, and he had given him also two large ships of burden completely equipped and stored with ammunition, and every thing else necessary for war, with ordnance and rigging, twenty-fix pieces of large brass ordnance for battery, thirty small ones of the same metal for the field; four fuits of rich arras hangings, of eight pieces each, wrought with gold and filver: four fuits of hangings of cloth of gold and filver " im-"paled" with velvet; eight fuits of coarfer arras, very good; three cloths of state very rich, and of excellent work; three rich beds, with all their furniture of filk and gold; a large cupboard of plate, all over gilt, and curioufly wrought; another of filver ingilt, the two esteemed at 100,000 crowns; fixteen rich table cloths of all forts, and twenty Persian carpets, fair and large. At parting, the French monarch also presented him with twelve of his best horses, and twenty stands of harness double gilt, and enamelled; the young King and Queen with their attendants in fifty thips, under convoy of the Salamander and the Merisher (lent for that purpose, and long retained in

Scotland) and two of James's, the Marival and Great-lion, came fafe PART VIII. to Leith, May 2. The moment she set her foot upon the land, prof-Magdalen, the trating, she kissed it, blessing God for having conducted her thither first Queen of K. James V. in fafety, and prayed for every happiness to attend the dominions and subjects of her husband; she was conducted to the palace of Holyrood-house, from whence a proclamation issued, commanding rejoicings to be made throughout the kingdom; and as the whole aim of her conduct was to render herfelf beloved by K. James and the Scots, she was little less than adored by them, and a reception would have been given her equal to the great merit she possessed, and her high birth demanded, had not the hectic fever, under which she had long laboured, deprived her of life, July 22 following, not more than forty days after the landed in Scotland, to the inexpressible grief of all; fo universal a sorrow having never before pervaded all ranks of people, the Scots for the first time expressed their loss, by putting on mourning, a custom until then unknown to them; and perhaps the grief unfeignedly felt for her loss was not a little heightened by the known favorable light in which the viewed the protestant tenets, having imbibed them from the instruction of the Queen of Navarre. She was buried with great funeral folemnity in the abbey church of the Holyrood, near the remains of K. James II. If we believe the French, the climate less hastened her death than the change of the gay magnificent refined court of her father, to that of Scotland: the difference must have been mortifying, and the comparison unpleasant; but love makes deserts beautiful, and paints the rustic as captivating; novelty had not loft its relish we may believe, and therefore it is difficult to intirely acquiefce in what they have faid, any more than, that she, frequently recalling the idea of having bid an eternal adieu to France, exclaimed " Helas! voulu être reine!" It cannot be doubted that her loss was a great misfortune to Scotland; the might have moderated her husband's passion for promiscuous amours, might have foftened his fevere temper, and at least leffened the baneful influence of the Romish clergy. Magdalen was a captivating figure; a certain languor, the confequence of a weak constitution, rendering her beautiful features more interesting, and the

PART VIII. accomplishments she possessed added greatly to her charms. When Magdalen, the the royal vaults were facrilegiously broken into, her body was thrown about. In 1776, Mr. Arnott saw there the head of this Queen, which had been separated from it, and he says it was even then "entire and " beautiful." How much credit would it have done the magistracy of Edinburgh had they fooner collected the remains of departed majesty, and placed them in a vault in one of their churches. England has witneffed fimilar indecencies; they reflect difgrace upon any country. There is an engraving of Magdeleine de France, by Vanderwerff p. P. a Gunst. sc. h. sh.

Mary, second Queen of K. James V.

James having lost his beloved Queen, turned his eyes again towards France; he fent Beaton to folicit in his behalf the hand of Mary, daughter of Claude, Duke of Guize, and widow of Lewis II. Duke of Longueville, a propofal embraced with avidity by her and the French court; but he met a rival he did not expect in his uncle, Henry VIII. who was then, by the premature death of the beauteous Jane Seymour, become a widower, and who had fent over a confidential fervant to examine the person of the Princess, who reported that she had a beautiful face, was tall and stately in her deportment, with other fuch requifites as made her entirely fuitable to his tafte; he was therefore doubly enraged at James for having twice dared to fix his affections without confulting him, and for not declining his addresses to one whom he wished to marry; but his anger did not influence the Scotch King; though Francis I. found it requisite to send over his minister, Pomeray; but the haughty Henry would hear no apology, though he even had asked Mary, his daughter, whom he had just illegitimatized, for the Duke of Orleans, the second son of France; he then offered Mary of Bourbon, but Henry spurned at the idea of marrying one his nephew had refused; and indeed this Princess, with whom James had spent eight days in all the pomp and magnificence the Duke,

her father, could bestow, and when, as tokens of regard, the PART VIII. young monarch and she had exchanged "chains, rings, tablets, Mary, second K. 66 with diamonds, rubies, and many other precious jewels," foon James V. after fell a victim to her fensibility, in having James a fecond time prefer another to her. Henry equally rejected either of the Duchels of Longueville's younger fifters, though as beautiful and as accomplished; he acted with the same obstinacy as if these Princesses had been daughters of his own nobility: happily he was so involved with the Emperor, with whom at that time Francis was upon terms of amity, and his own kingdom in arms from difaffection, relative to religion, or else probably war would have been declared both against Scotland and France; but as it was, all his blustering answered no purpose; especially as the Princess decidedly declared in favor of the nephew, preferring with him the less resplendent crown to the unwieldy fanguinary uncle; perhaps fhe might entertain the fame fentiments as the Duchess of Milan expressed, who had just refused the honor of being Queen of England, fending in answer to the proposal, that " had she two heads, one should be " at his Majesty's service; but as she had only one she chose to " keep it." His Christian Majesty sent to James to hasten the negociation, and to dispatch his fleet to conduct the bride to his shores; the Earl of Murray had orders to go over and affift Beaton. In January following the was married by proxy; Lord Maxwell was appointed Admiral and Commissioner to conduct her to Scotland, and the better to protect her person, 2000 men were put on board the fleet; the French monarch also fent a confiderable squadron, under the command of his High Admiral, D'Annebant, accompanied with many of the nobility of France: the Queen embarked at Newhaven, now Havre de Grace, and whatever Henry might have intended, the arrived fafely at Fyfeness, near Balconny, where the stopped, until an efcort of horse arrived; James, who was waiting for the event at St. Andrew's, " with the whole Lords " spiritual and temporal, with many Barons, Lairds, and Gentle-" men, in their best array," received her Majetty at the New Abbey Gate, in that city, upon the east side of which was formed a tri-

Mary, fecond Lion-Herald; over this was represented a cloud, as coming out of James V. Heaven, which opened when the Communication of the Mont trance there appeared " a fair lady, most like an angel," prefenting the keys of Scotland to her Majesty, expressive that all the hearts in the kingdom were open to receive her; and then Sir David made feveral addresses to the royal bride, recommending her to "ferve God, " obey her husband, and keep her body clean, according to God's will " and commandments." She was then conducted to her palace, called the New-Inns, fuitably adorned; here she was received by the whole body of the clergy, who conducted her to the cathedral, where the was married, and there heard " maffes, fongs, and playing of or-" gans, with great folemnity;" from thence they came to the King's palace, where she dined, and great rejoicings continued there until supper-time. In the morning she visited the Black and Grey Friars, the Old and New College, and St. Leonard's, and received the Provost and Burgesses. When she met the King in her palace, upon her return, she told him, she had never, in so fmall a space in France, seen so many good faces as she had that day in Scotland, declaring how much the country had been mifrepresented to her, as having none of those agreeable things that were found elfewhere; but that she was now undeceived, admiring the fair countenances of the people. "Forfooth, madam," replied the King, " you shall see better, please God; ere you go " through Scotland you will fee many goodlike men and women, " with other commodities that will be to your contentment;" and James omitted no opportunity of affording his Queen every pleafure during the forty days they remained in that city, as finging, dancing, masks, plays, and other Princely games; or justs, tournaments, archery, hunting, and hawking. From St. Andrew's the bridal pair went to Cowpar, in Fife, where they dined; thence to Falkland, where they remained feven or eight days, spending the time in hunting fallow deer. From this palace they removed to Sterling, where they were entertained by those of the castle and the town; leaving this place he conducted her to Linlithgow,

where they flayed a day or two; this royal refidence extremely PART VIII. pleased her majesty; she confessed she had never seen a more Mary, second princely palace. From this favorite spot they went to Edinburgh Queen of K. castle, where they were received in a most splendid manner by the Provoft and corporation, who prefented "fpices, wine, gold, and " filver;" and the city, at their own expence, also exhibited " great triumphs, farces, and plays." It appears that James was resolved to convince his Queen that his dominions would bear inspecting; for not content with thus conducting Mary to his capital. he foon after fet out in procession to Dundee, where he stayed fix or eight days; here she was also publicly received, and he celebrated, Aug. 5, while he remained in the town, the marriage of the Earl of Errol with the eldest fister of the Earl of Lenox, honoring the ceremony with his presence, at which also were the Archbishops of Glafgow and Caithness; and as this union had been propofed by him, he omitted nothing that could render it magnificent: the last place the royal pair visited was St. Johnston, and here all vied in shewing their dutiful attachment to them. The manner in which the Queen was every where received must have been extremely flattering, and proves that the Scots were greatly pleased with the alliance, and with her person. She was not crowned until she had recovered her first lying-in, when that ceremony was performed in February, 1539, in the Abbey church of Holy-Rood, the crown being fet upon her head by Beaton. She was appointed Regent during the minority of the only furviving child she had by K. James, the ill-fated Mary; but as she was, at her fecond husband's death, in the prime of life, she was not infensible to love; the Earl of Lenox, whom the late King had intended to have declared heir prefumptive to the crown of Scotland, by restoring her to the Regency, of which the Hamiltons, his rivals in power, had deprived her, feemed to have had a claim to her affections; he was also patronized by the court of France; but what still farther tended to make her listen to him was, he was also young, handsome, and braved the boldest; excelled in all martial exercifes, and yet his manners were gentle; he was as conspicuous

PART VIII. for grace in the drawing room, as for his prowess in the field; and James V.

Mary, fecond fhe was fo rich a prize, that he exerted all his powers to please, be-Queen of King cause he would, during a long minority, have had all the real authority of the kingdom in his hands, and by having the disposal of the young Queen, it would make both England and France court him, fo that nothing would have been able to oppose his government; and in case the throne became vacant he would have had great advantages in pursuing his claim against the house of Hamilton; feduced by fuch temptations he fought with avidity the alliance with the widowed Queen; but the court of France having by him effected their purpose in reinstating her majesty in the regency, first raifed up the Earl of Bothwell * as his rival, a youth almost his equal in every respect, and who strove to outdo him in dancing, at the barriers, and in every thing in which Lenox excelled; and he fucceeded fo well, that at length he drove him from court; but the disappointed lover did not bear this with composure; he raised forces to take revenge, but the Queen-mother renouncing her engagements, and uniting with the Hamiltons, he was obliged to feek an afylum in England, where Henry VIII. received him gracioufly, and gave him his niece, the young and blooming Margaret, the daughter of his fifter, a former dowager of Scotland, by a fecond marriage, as has been already noticed. Mary of Guize would have been extremely beloved, had fhe not liftened to the interested advice of the Princes, her brothers, whose ambition and turbulence was unbounded, for the had an enlarged understanding, and most elevated fentiments, a bewitching form, adorned with elegant and engaging manners; she saw her error when too late, and died lamenting it: to write the history of the remainder of her life, would be to give that of Scotland during many and turbulent years, in which the great struggle of religious liberty was equally contested by the Romanists and reformed with a violence that difgraced both; and at length a fystem of superstirion gave way to narrow fanatical bigotry,

^{*} Patrick 4th, Earl of Bothwell, afterwards married his coufin Agnes, daughter of Henry Lord Sinclair, by whom he had James, Earl of Bothwell, the husband of Mary, Queen of Scotland, and one daughter.

and the tyranny of one was usurped under a different form by the other. PART VIII. In her return from France she asked, and obtained, a " fafe con-Mary, second "duct" if she should be driven upon the English coast; but how Queen of King rude must be an age that wanted such a security for a lady and her attendants*; happily the had the precaution, for October 22, 1550, a tempest drove her to Portsmouth; she came from thence the 23rd to Mr. White's house, dispatching messengers to the young King, Edward VI., to claim protection, who behaved with that attention to her, which her high rank demanded, though she had refused to accept him for a fon-in-law. As the relation is taken chiefly from his Majesty's manuscript, it will be pleasing no doubt to many readers: upon the 28th fhe arrived at Sir Richard Cotton's: 20th dined at the Earl of Arundel's; went from thence to Mr. Brown's, where she was received by the gentlemen of Suffex, who convoyed her the next day to Guildford, where Lord William Howard and the gentlemen of Surry met her, who conducted her on the 30th to Hampton-court; two miles and a half from thence in a valley the was received by the Marquis of Northampton, with feveral other noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, " besides all the gen-"tlemen pensioners, men of arms, and ushers, sewers, and carvers, "to the number of 120 gentlemen." The Marchioness of Northampton and the Countess of Pembroke, with fixty other ladies and gentlewomen, met her at the gate of the palace, who led her to the Queen's fide, which was all hanged with arras, as was the hall; and all the other royal apartments were "finely dreffed;" the whole of that night, and the next day, was spent in dancing and pastime, as though it were a court, and a great presence of gentlewomen reforted thither. November 1, the examined the whole of the palace in which the was lodged, and faw fome courfing of deer; the 2nd she came to, and slept, in the palace of the Bishop of London with.

^{*} King Edward VI, and his council ordered that if she landed in any part of England or Ireland, she and her attendants should have leave to refresh themselves for a few days.

Mary, fecond Tames V.

PART VIII, all her train about her *; the 3rd the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Warwick and Wiltshire, with many other lords and gentlemen Queen of King " brought a message from his Majesty to welcome her, -to ask if " fhe had every thing convenient, - and that the King would wait " upon her the following day:" the 4th the Duke of Suffolk, with other noblemen and gentlemen, with many ladies of the highest rank, and some that were of the blood royal, as the Duchess of Suffolk, the Lady Jane Gray, her daughter, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Lenox, with 100 other ladies and gentlewomen, went to her Majesty, and brought her in her chariot through London to Westminster. At the gate she was received by the Duke of Northumberland, Great Master, and the Treasurer, Comptroller, and the Earl of Pembroke, with all the fewers, carvers, and cup bearers, to the number of thirty. In the hall his Majesty, with the Lords of his Council, met her, the Duke of Northumberland bearing the fword of state before the King. Stow and Holingshed say that Mary kneeled down when she first faw the King, and that he took her up and kiffed her: but Edward does not mention these circumstances, any more than his faluting all the Scotch ladies, when he left the Queen and them before dinner: from the outer gate up to the prefence chamber on both fides flood the guard; the court, the hall, and the stairs, were full of ferving men; the presence chamber, great chamber, and her majesty's presence chamber of gentlemen: the King having conducted the Queen to her chamber, retired to his own: Edward dined in hers; she fat under the same cloth of state on his left hand; at her "re-reward" fat his cousins Francis and Margaret; at his the French Ambassador. "We were served," fays the King, "by two fervices, two fewers, cup bearers, " carvers, and gentlemen. Her mafter Hostill came before her " fervice, and my officers before mine. There were two cup-" boards, one of gold, four stages high; another of massy filver, " fix stages; in her great chamber dined at three boards the ladies

^{*} The Chamberlain of London fent the Queen a present, confisting of " beeves, " muttons, veals, fwans, and other poultry meats, with bread, fuel, wine, beer, 46 wax, &c."

" only. After dinner, when she had heard some music, I brought PART VIII. "her to the hall, and fo she went away." Stow fays, " After din- Maiy, second " ner the King shewed the Queen his galleries, gardens, &c.; and James V. " about four of the clock he brought her down by the hand into the " hall, where he kiffed her, and fo she departed to the Bishop's " palace as afore." On the 6th the Duke of Northumberland, the Lord Treasurer, the Marquis of Northampton, Lord Privy Seal, and feveral others, went to pay her their respects, and to deliver a ring with a diamond, and "two nags," as a token from his Majesty: on the same day the Duke of Northumberland, with his band of 100 men on horseback with javelins, of which 40 were gentlemen in black velvet coats, garded with white *, and hats of black velvet with white feathers, and chains of gold round their necks,the other 60 were in coats of cloth; the Earl of Pembroke, with his band, confifting of 120 men well appointed, also with black javelins, and hats and feathers; the Earl of Wiltshire, Lord Treafurer, with 100 gentlemen and yeomen +, with javelins in like manner, well apparelled; -which three companies of horsemen lined the streets on each fide from the Cross in Cheapfide to Birchin Lane end; these, with all the pensioners, men of arms, and the country, with many ladies, as the King's coufin Margaret, the Duchesses of Richmond and Northumberland, conducted her majesty through Cheapside and Cornhill to Shoreditch Church, where they took their leave; one hundred gentlemen of Middlesex, with the Sheriffs of London, having been deputed to efcort her majefty to Waltham, where she lodged that night; and so she was conveyed out of the kingdom, a like number of gentlemen in every county receiving and conducting her in the fame manner, until she came to the borders of Scotland; all the expence of eating and drinking for the Queen and her train, with the provisions provided for the horses, being defrayed by Edward, according to Holinshed; but Stow fays, at the charges of each shire she passed through. It is

^{*} King Edward fays with " white and black sleeves."

[†] The Earl of Wiltshire with 58 of his father's band. King Edward,

PART VIII. fingular neither of King Edward's fifters, Mary or Elizabeth, paid Mary, fecond their respects to the Queen, whilst she was in England. Was Queen of King it the jealously of Northumberland, or because they would not yield

Queen of King it the jealoufy of Northumberland, or because they would not yield precedency to a princess who, though the Dowager of Scotland, was very inferior to them in birth? This amiable queen died in the Castle of Edinburgh, July 10, 1560, of a complication of disordersterminating in a dropfy, partly occasioned, it may be prefumed, by the distractions of the kingdom. A short time before her death she shed tears in torrents, bitterly bewaiting the last years of her administration, in yielding to the felfish ambition of her brothers, the Princes of Guize: fhe forgave and requested forgivness of all around her, intreating them to be obedient to her daughter, their fovereign, and to unite in freeing Scotland from the forces of both England and France; after which she took an affectionate leave of each, and received the consolations of religion from Mr. Willocks, a protestant minister, whose piety and moderation had before recommended him to her; she passed with a decent fortitude into the realms of peace, entirely lamented by her friends, and admired even by her enemies. It is thought she left in her own hand writing a journal of the transactions in Scotland, with the characters of the principal persons in the kingdom, for the use of the Queen, her daughter. Her body was, at her own defire, carried over into France for interment; it was first taken to a monastery in Normandy, but was afterwards removed to the church of St. Peter in Rheims, of which her fifter Renée was abbefs. Mr. Granger mentions two engravings of her, one inscribed "Mary, &c. Queen of Scotland, a small oval belong-" ing to the fet of Scottish Kings;" the other "Marie de Lorraine; " Vander Werff p., P. a Gunst sc. in Larrey's History." He alsofays there is a portrait of her at Newbottle, a feat of the Marquis of Lothian, a few miles distant from Edinburgh: Mr. Pennant fpeaking of it fays, " she is no less beautiful than her daughter." There is lately engraved a most elegant portrait of "Mary of Guise," from a painting in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. Harding del.

PART VIII.

Children of K. James V. and Queen Mary.

- 1. James, born at St. Andrews, 1539, where he died three years iffue of King afterwards; the Archbishop of that see, the Earl of Arran, and the James V. by Queen Dowager, were his sponsors at baptism: he was stilled Prince Josephs, Prince of Scotland, and created Duke of Rothsay. He was buried in the and Duke of Rothsay.
- 2. Arthur, born at Sterling and baptifed in the chapel of that Arthur, Dake caftle; in this place he also died on the same, or the following day, of Albany. that his brother James did. He had been created Duke of Albany, Earl of Fise and Monteith. The death of these children was the greatest affliction to their father, who had been troubled with melancholy dreams after he had put Sir James Hamilton to death; and from the lively impression they made upon his imagination, he believed them visions, especially as Sir James, he thought, once came, and having cut off one arm and then the other, declared he would soon come again and take away his life also; these, his only sons, dying almost at the same time, though so distant from each other, confirmed James in the idea that there was something preternatural relative to what his mind had painted to his affrighted senses cruelty and superstition often unite in the same character.
- 3. Mary, who became Queen of Scotland, and whose history is Mary, afterfo well known for her beauty, accomplishments, and unparalleled of Scots.

Mistresses and natural Children of K. James V.

K. James V. had many mistreffes; Weir, Sandilands, and Oli-Mistreffes, and phant, are noticed in the anecdotes and ballads of his reign; and iffue of King if, says Mr. Guthrie, the poem of his, called the Gaberlunzie Man, James V.

Muftreffes, and iffue of King james V.

PART VIII is true, the adventure it relates, proves the King was not very deslicate in his amours, or in the means of pursuing them. As James the illegitimate was greatly addicted to gallantry, it is wonderful we have fo few of his illegitimate offspring mentioned; for there can be little doubt but that he had feveral more than the four given below; perhaps the meanness of their mothers might, occasion his not publicly acknowledging them.

Margaret, daughter and fifter of Earls of Mar, the most celebrated mistress of K. James V.

The most memorable of his mistresses was Margaret, youngestdaughter of John, and Sister of another John, both Earls of Mar, Regents of Scotland, and to whom the persons of the royal infants, Q. Mary and King James VI., were intrufted. She afterwards was married to Sir Robert Douglas, of Lochleven, who, in 1540, received grants of the baronies of Dalkeith and Kinrofs, with the: castle and lake of Lochleven, with the baronies of Keilor, Lugton, Lang-Newton, &cc., and which for his loyalty and valor he deferved: he was killed in 1547, in the battle of Pinkie or Muffelburgh, leaving by her three fons and three daughters; 1. Sir William Douglas, of Lochleven, who had the care of guarding the. unhappy Mary, Queen of Scots, in his castle, situated in the middle of the lake, at which time his mother refided with him: fhe was a: proud imperious woman, and had then the baseness to triumph over her fovereign, boasting that she was the lawful wife of the King, her father, and confequently that her fon was legitimate and legal. heir to the crown, and that she had usurped his rights. Upon the decapitation of the Earl of Morton, the Regent, in 1588, he fecceeded him in his hereditary honors, that nobleman leaving no lawful iffue. 2. Robert, who by marrying the Countess of Euchan, became in her right a nobleman alfo. 3. Sir George, the gallant gentleman who obtained Queen Mary's cscape from Lochleven, in 1567, won either by love, pity, or ambition, -perhaps from all, though any of them, or his duty as a loyal fubject, had been fufficient: he was living at least so late as the year 1501, when King James VI. gave him the lands of Helenhill, Aschisheils, &c. 4. Eupheme married Patrick, Lord Lindsay, ancestor of the Earls of

Erawford, one of the most inveterate and cruel enemies of Queen Part VIII. Mary. 5. Margaret, to Sir John Colville, of Erster Wemyss.—Margaret, And 6. Catherine, to David Drury, of Drury. I have not seen fler of Early the time of this lady's death; I have given this short sketch of her of Mar, the most celebrated family to shew the relationship of persons with her, and her children mistrels of K. James V. by King James V., as they make a most conspicuous sigure in the Scottish annals of this extraordinary period.

1. James, her eldest son by K. James, remarkable alike for his Jomes, Earl of Murray, regent abilities and vices, for his good and ill fortunes, must have been of Scotland. born about 1532; for in 1557, he was one of the attornies or procurators for Scotland, to shew the consent of the states to Queen Mary's marriage; at which time, I suppose, he must have been at least twenty-five years of age. We have feen how much the younger branches of the royal family of Scotland were educated as ecclefiaftics; K. James V. for the same cause, to check their ambition, also defigned his natural fons to be brought up to the church; he was complimented with the rich priory of St. Andrews, and most probably would have rifen to the cardinalate had the Roman catholic religion continued to have been the established mode of faith; but the reformation having spread with great rapidity, he took the opportunity it presented to renounce the religion he was brought up in, and as the church was stripped intirely of its revenue, and reduced to a poverty as great, as if christianity, and not popery, had been proferibed, it did not fuit him any longer to retain the ecclefiaftical profession; he therefore secularised himself, but kept his preferment, which he affected, like the other abbots, to confider as fill intitling them to a feat, as a baron of parliamant, and also the title of Lord James he had before enjoyed; his pretended zeal for the reformed tenets, with his nearness to the Queen in blood, gave him great advantages; and his ambition, by the premature death of the King of France, her first husband, appears to have overcome every other fentiment; but to hide his dangerous defigifs, he affumed an auftere bluntness, bordering upon rudeness, despising in appearance all the grandeur and refinements that are so interesting in a court;

Illegitimate iffue of King lames V.

FART VIII he feemed to be the devotee, and though he had thrown off the monk's cowl, still to retain all that attachment for simplicity of manners and honest fincerity that are no where more amiable than in the fequestered cloisters of a convent: his diffimulation was sometime in revealing itself, but at length the mask is most effectually removed, and all his vices are visible; it is demonstratively evident. that though he was deputed to invite the Queen, his fifter, over to her dominions, that he was at the same time treating with Queen Elizabeth to intercept her upon the sea, and detain her in England, that he might have the entire command of Scotland; when she escaped this fnare, he governed under her name; but she was only his pupil, whom he treated with harshness, and ruled with despotic power; and no fooner did he fee that she designed to marry, than he conspired with the elegant, but depraved, Lethington, and the fevere and inflexible Morton, to furprise Darnley, whom she had fixed her affections upon, and deliver him up to Elizabeth, dethrone his fifter, and doom her to Lochleven, to remain in that castle a prisoner for life, and to place the diadem he meant to wrest from her brows upon his own head: fo early had this diffembling hypocrite fixed his eyes upon the regal honors; it was for this reason that Knox exclaimed against the unfitness of women to govern: to effect this project Buchanan afterwards wrote a dialogue " De jure regni a-"pud Scotos," to prove that the people had a right to elect whom they thought most proper to hold their sceptre: the design was not without a precedent; Portugal and Castile and given their crowns to the illegitimate offspring of their ancient fovereigns; the ferocious chiefs of Scotland thought themselves difgraced by being commanded by a lady; the puritan calvinists with horror beheld a Roman Catholic upon the throne; and Elizabeth, from inclination and policy, wished to see Mary disgraced. France, the ancient ally, was governed by the cruel and unrelenting Catherine de Medici, who wished for nothing more eagerly than to see the humiliation of one, whose power she had felt, and whose beauty she envied. When Mary obtained her wish in uniting herself to Henry, and she seemed more than likely to cut off all his ambition by giving an heir to

fucceed her, he planned, and though then in banishment in England, PART VIII. fucceeded with his infamous partizans to perform fo tragic a fcene Illegitimate in her presence, as would, it might have been supposed, destroy sine of King both the mother and the infant; for the conspirators rushing into the apartment of the pregnant Queen feized Rizzio, and stabbed him in her prefence, manacing her life also; and had she not escaped from the confinement in which they held her, perhaps the then had lost her crown; yet so artful was this ambitious brother, that it procured him his recal from banishment, which he made use of to reconcile the abused Queen with the traitors, that they might the better carry on their criminal projects; and which they endeavored to effect by taking the advantage of the mifunderstanding of the King and Queen, by proposing to the latter to rid her of a husband unworthy of her; but finding it would not be accepted, and that returning affection would disapoint their machinations, they confrired to affaffinate the King; but still to blind the public, he the day preceding the tragedy asked and obtained leave to retire, under pretence to visit his wife, who, he faid, was unwell; not content with this nefarious wickedness, he procured a bond of affociation, recommending Bothwell, whom he had made the inftrument and dupe to effect the murder of the King, as the most proper to marry the Queen: this instrument he figned first himself, as did most of the great subjects of Scotland; and then with his compeers, Lethington and Morton, planned the destruction of the Queen, first obtaining her consent to retire into France *, whilft the others raised an army under pretence of separating Bothwell from the Queen; but when she gave herself up to the confederates under a promise of duty and submission, and had sent off her most worthless husband,

^{*} Murray obtained Queen Mary's leave to travel through England in his way to France, to which kingdom he fet out April 9, 1567, and took that opportunity of poisoning the ear of Elizabeth by telling her of the intended marriage between his fifter and Bothwell, the murderer of her former husband, but omitted to mention that it was of his own planning, and that he had figned the bond recommending it. Elizabeth took the bait, and had henor enough to forewarn Mary of the ill consequences of such a marriage.

PART VIII.

Illegitimate
iffue of King
James V.

as if forgetting their own declaration, they permitted the culprit to escape, deposed Mary, loading her with every epithet that the most abandoned scarce deserve, throwing upon her that murder which they had perpetrated, and gave as a proof her marrying Bothwell, whom they had feduced to perfonally commit it, and though his marriage was by their own recommendation. The unhappy Mary was fent into Lochleven, under the care of his maternal brother and that of their common mother; the regency-was voted to him, if he would accept it, and which he was requested to take upon himself, by an embassy sent into France; with a seeming reluctance he affumed what all his wickedness had contrived. The beauteous forrowing Mary, without one sympathizing friend, degraded even in drefs to abjectness, was so far from knowing from whom she received all her miseries, that when he came to Lochleven, she threw herfelf into his arms with all the affection of a fifter, all the ardor of friendship; the monster, who came not to footh the distress he had effected, but to triumph over her fallen estate, rudely repulsed her, upbraided her in the coarsest language, and, regardless of her streaming eyes, only promised to intercede for her life; the modest request of a medical person, two female attendants, change to a more healthy place, and to take care of, at least, some of her jewels, was flighted; and he left the dethroned fovereign, fternly recommending it to her not to attempt an escape, as it might involve her in instant destruction; and having seized upon all the magnificent furniture, rich jewels, and costly plate, he used the one, and the others he disposed of, or melted down to convert it into specie, the better to secure himself in his usurpation: and when Mary escaped, he headed an army against her, paid with her own money, and drove her into England to fue for mercy from an enemy no less bitter against her than himself; to pay court to whom he furrendered up the independency of his native kingdom, and fubmitted to be an abject flave to the caprice of an imperious queen, though he had involved himself in so many crimes, that he might not submit to the mild sway of a fifter: and as if her cup was not yet full, he caused to be forged infamous writings tending to

blacken, to blaft her character, by exhibiting her as both an adul- PART VIII; tress and murderer; and when the Duke of Norfolk, unsuspecting Illegitimate the wickedness of his character, had made him the confidant of islue of K. James V. his passion for the dethroned Queen, he betrayed him to his sovereign, w hich cost that amiable peer his head: there wanted only one project more to complete the infamy of his character, and that was to destroy the infant King; but he was restrained from this only, I think, because he had no fon to have succeeded to the crown, could he have obtained it for himfelf. These are facts, the proofs of which are fo well authenticated, that no future writer, I must suppose, will ever contradict; happily few such instances of depravity stain the historic page, though recording the events of the most barbarous periods, or of the rudest countries; but every nation has had its monsters. In Scotland Murray may justly claim precedency for his uniform wickedness to the best and tenderest of fifters, who feemed by her love to have forgotten the ftain of his birth; for, with a liberality that neither her dominions nor her revenue could authorize, the gave him an income of not less than 26,000l. per ann. a princely fum at that time; besides, Feb. 1. 1512, the conferred upon him the Earldom of Mar, though by it the displeased one of her greatest and most trusty peers; and when his maternal uncle, Lord Erskine, laid some claim to Mar, she exchanged it for that of Murray; fo that greater obligations she could not have conferred upon him as a fubject, nor could he have been more ungrateful; perhaps, had he been dutiful and complying, he had always been her minister, and disposer of all her favors; had she been fufpicious, the never would have trufted him with any power; had she been severe, she would have capitally punished his first demerits, by which she might have prevented her own ruin, and him the commission of many crimes. Mary certainly wanted penetration. When Murray found himself possessed of the first place in the state, that diffimulation which had marked his whole life he found useless and troublesome; he became luxurious, prodigal to his favorites and minions, tyrannic and cruel to his enemies and oppofers; the barbarity that drew on him destruction was truly infernal.

PART VIII.
Illegitimate
iffue of K.
James V.

James Hamilton, of Bothwelhaugh, who, for espousing the cause of Queen Mary at the battle of Langside, though pardoned as to life and liberty, forfeited all his estates; his wife, the heiress of Woodhousie, retired thither, as to a fure asylum, from the rapacity of the all-powerful vindictive Regent; but his minion, Sir James Ballenden, fent his fervant to put him into possession of what the Regent had given him a grant of; who, unmindful of every principle of humanity, not content to simply fend away the unhappy lady, stripped her naked, and turned her out of the house, though the night was cold and dark; the morning discovered the wretched outcast: but terror, aided by the inclemency of the weather, had deprived her of her fenses, which never returned; yet when Murray was informed of the cruelty of Ballenden, fo far from punishing a wickedness that difgraced his administration, he only treated it as a jest; as he did even those threats of just vengeance that the injured husband vowed to take upon him, as if not the author, the approver. Hamilton, true to his purpose, finding that his enemy was to pass through the high street of Linlithgow, in his way from Sterling to Edinburgh, acted with a steadiness, presence of mind. and precaution, that would have exalted his character in the annals of Greece, as by it he freed his country from a usurping traitor, and punished the man who had violated every law to injure him; for hiring a house belonging to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, in which was a wooden gallery, that fronted the street, he placed a large feather-bed upon the floor, that his feet might not be heard as he walked backwards and forwards; and opposite to the windows on the infide of the room, he hung up some black clothes to conceal his shadow; he cut a small hole with his knife a little below the lattice, just large enough to receive his fusee; and to prevent any impediment to his escape, after he had completed his purpose, as the door was too low to admit a man on horseback, with the affiftance of his fervant he removed the lintel, and kept his horse in the stable ready bridled and saddled; the Regent, as if regardless of danger, though he had been advised of Hamilton being in the town, moved flowly along, the common people thronging around him, obstructed him much; but as it happened, he stop-

ped just before the place where his affassin waited for him, who PART VIII. lodged a fingle bullet in his body; and though immediately pur- Illegitimate fued, effected his escape to the palace of Hamilton by the fleetness iffue of K. James V. of the horse the Abbot of Arbroth had procured him, and coming to the coast passed over into France, where he long resided, and his flory being known, he was offered a reward to kill Admiral Coligny; but, though a Roman Catholic, he spurned the proposition, saying, " No, unless Admiral Coligny had injured me as highly as Murray "did." Though the wound was not judged mortal, yet the Regent, finding his pains increase; prepared himself for death, and in a few hours he expired, after a government of only two years and five months. Thus fell the criminally-ambitious James Stuart, Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, Jan. 23, 1570, in the prime of his life, lamented by Elizabeth, Queen of England; and even the tender-hearted Mary, whom he had so cruelly injured, shed some tears at his premature death. Knox and the other zealots mourned for him as their friend and protector, though they ought to have thought a union with him a stigma upon their characters: from these he had the epithet of " the gude or godly "Regent;" but in general the Scots hated and shunned a man whose vices became every day more visible, though he had so long hid them under the mask of a mortified countenance, affecting the gloominess of a monk; practising the austerities of the order he had deferted in his household, and lending a patient attention to the enthusiastic rhapsodies of the most violent of the calvinistical preachers. Like most other usurpers, he suffered few others to injure the public; where his own interest did not prevail, justice was impartially administered. He was more artful than wife, more cunning than prudent: he shone only as the head of a saction: he was incapable of combining contending interests, and directing them to one common public good: in all the virtues of the heart he was totally deficient: he seemed a single individual, whose interest along he was to promote at the expence of duty and affection, of honor and honesty: he won no friends but the partners of his crimes, the clergy, whom he made the dupes of his ambitious

Illegitimate iffue of K. lames V.

PART VIII. projects; and the learned, whom he purchased to praise him at the expence of truth. Buchanan and Lethington, the two finest geniuses Scotland then could boast of, were partakers in all his forgeries; he debased his public character by permitting the most fulfome flatteries. The fruit of all his crimes was to be, at best, only the viceroy of the imperious Elizabeth; who, ordering him into her presence, treated him with a haughtiness a disgraced vasfal would have felt degrading; and to share even this precarious power with his affociates, Morton and Lethington. Had he been dutiful and loval, he might have preserved the crown upon the head of his fifter, and in his old age perhaps have feen her fovereign of Britain: gratitude would have secured her affectionate esteem; and under her he might have enjoyed, unmolefted, the highest honors, and the most ample estates; happy in an internal rectitude, and the united kingdoms would have hailed him their best patriot, and posterity have revered, as much as they execrate his memory. He. married Agnes, daughter of William, Earl Marishal; the ceremony was publicly performed Feb. 10, 1560-1, in the Abbey church of the Holyrood, when nine gentlemen of Fife received the honor of knighthood; and masks, with other splendid entertainments, were given; vanity and excessive joy overcame his prudence; for fome, who knew his character, thought it too magnificent for a fubject; the Calvinists were shocked at his countenancing amusements they judged profane; and the Romanists looked with horror on his thus breaking through the vow of celibacy which he had taken. He left by his lady two daughters, Elizabeth, married to James, Lord Down, whose descendants inherit his title of Murray; and Margaret to Francis, Earl of Errol.

John, Abbot of Coldingham.

2. John had the abbey of Coldingham given him; but conforming to the Protestant faith, he obtained its possessions to be secularized, and retained them as a lay fief. He was more obsequious than any of the natural brothers of Q. Mary; and it was owing to this, that he was better beloved by her than either of the others. In 1563 they were all three dispatched to Inverness to preserve the

tranquillity of the northern counties, at which time he died unla- PART VIII. mented; yet Q. Elizabeth did not fail to condole with his fifter lilegitimate upon his death. Lord John married, Jan. 1, 1561-2, Jean, daugh-iffue of K. James V. tor of Patrick, fourth Earl, and fifter to James, the fifth Earl of Bothwell, afterwards husband to the Queen; Mary honored the ceremony with her presence in Seaton. The issue of this marriage was Francis and John; Francis, the eldest fon, was raised to the dignity of Earl of Bothwell, and Lord High Admiral of Scotland, by K. James VI. who conferred upon him many other marks of his favor, and gave him extensive possessions, but falling under the displeasure of that sovereign's chancellor, Maitland, he accused him of witchcraft, and put him in the castle of Edinburgh; escaping from thence, to revenge the affront, he attempted in the night to furprize Maitland in Holyrood House, regardless of the presence of the King; failing in his attempt, he escaped, first to Bute, and from thence into England; having obtained his pardon, he returned, and was again taken into favor; but falling into some dangerous defigns, (it was supposed to surprize and deliver up K. James to Q. Elizabeth) he was deservedly attainted, yet in 1594 he again had the address to escape into England; but finding no hopes of being received into his native country, he went into France, afterwards into Spain, and died in Italy in 1624, in distressful circumstances. He had considerable abilities, was beloved by the people, and regarded with a favorable eye by Ann, the Queen of K. James. By Margaret, daughter of David, Earl of Angus, and widow of Walter Scot, of Buccleugh, Efq. he had Francis; John, Commendator of Coldingham; Henry, who also had the same Barony granted to him: Elizabeth, married to James, father of William, Lord Cranstone; Margaret, to Alan, Lord Catheart; and Helen, to John Macfarlane, of the place of that name, Efq. Francis, the eldest son of the Earl of Bothwell, was restored to that title in the same year as his father died, and married Isabel, daughter of Robert, Earl of Winton, and relict of James, first Earl of Perth, but as we know nothing more of him, or any other male descendPART VIII. ant of the first nobleman, we must conclude that the male line was illustrated extinct in him and his brothers.

Robert, Earl of Orkney and Zetland.

James V.

3. Robert, stiled of Strathdon, but called generally Lord Robert, had given him, in 1564, the command of the gens d'armes by Catherine de Medici, and obtained from Q. Mary, his fifter, the, lands of Orkney and Zetland in 1565, and which K. James VI. created into an Earldom; the patent of creation is dated Oct. 28, 1581, in which and the following year he had a charter of confirmation, and a farther grant of the adjacent ifles, and also that of Cama, &c. He was a character by no means great, but he was loyal to his fifter; fond of gallantry and diffipation, and was at first in all her parties of pleasure; had entered warmly into her favorite project of an union with Lord Darnley, who, together with Rizzio, for some time guided the whole court. A very weak triumvirate! After the marriage he still appears to have been in the royal favor; but having faid that K. Henry's life was in danger, the Queen, the next time he came into her presence, asked what foundation he had to suppose so; knowing how little he could trust his Majesty, and the danger he run in displeasing the powerful party that sought Henry's destruction, he contradicted what he had in confidence told that rash, unguarded, simple Prince; the enraged King replied to this, that " he lied," and each drew his fhort fword, unawed by the Queen; and had they not been separated, some instant mischief would have enfued. Had Henry liftened with attention, and been circumspect, the intelligence might have prevented the fatal catastrophe that foon after occasioned his death; and proves that Robert had discernment to see, and honesty to forewarn the King of the danger he was in. By a daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Cassilis, he had four fons and four daughters. 1. Patrick, of whom below; 2. John, created Lord Kincleven in 1607 by K. James VI. and Earl of Carric by K. Charles I. in 1633; his Lordship died in 1652, leaving by Elizabeth, daughter of Charles, Earl of Nottingham, Margaret, his only child, who, by Sir Matthew Mennes, K. B. had an heirefs, Margaret, married to Sir John Heath, of Braystade,

in Kent, Knt. whose only child, named Margaret likewise, married PART VIII. George, Lord Willoughby de Brook, which family may claim the Illegitimate titles of Kincleven and Carric, if they are not male fiefs. James Stuart, Knt. a gentleman of the bedchamber to K. James VI.; he died without iffue. 4. Sir Robert Stuart, who obtained from K. James VI. in 1600, a grant of lands. 5. Mary, married to Patrick, Lord Gray. 6. Jean, to Patrick, Lord Lindores. 7. Elizabeth, to Sir James Sinclair, of Murthel, ancestor to the Earl of Caithness. And, 8. Barbara, to -- Halcro, of a place for called in South Ronaldfay, one of the Orkneys. Patrick, the fecond Earl of Orkney, had a confirmation of the possessions of his family; but difgracing himfelf by very great oppression and open rebellion, he finished his life, February 6, 1614, upon a scaffold in Edinburgh; and at the same time his natural son was hanged. By his Countess, the daughter of Lord Levingston, he had no iffue.

4. Jean; the was much beloved by Q. Mary, who admitted her Jean, Counteff to her privacy and retirement; and she was one of the select few of Argyle. that were with her Majesty when Rizzio was murdered; she, like her more wretched fifter, was unhappy in her marriage; Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was only prevented divorcing her from dread of her brother's power: her early death gave him the liberty of taking another wife; but by neither of them had he any issue. So much respect was paid this lady, that her body was deposited in the royal. vault in Holyrood Abbey church, near that of her father,



PART IX.

Mary, Queen of Scotland.

MARY, fole furviving child of K. James V. was born in the palace of Linlithgow Dec. 8, 1542; and a few days afterwards fucceeded to the crown of Scotland; her extraordinary beauty, accomplishments, indiscretions, and misfortunes, have engaged the pens of the historians of each succeeding generation, and never more than the prefent; who have striven to vindicate her memory from the asperfions cast upon it by her enemies; a combination of difastrous circumstances have obscured the amiable qualities she really possessed. Had she lived in any future period she might have shone the constellation of the northern hemisphere. To prevent "the rough courtship of England," it was determined to send her into France in 1548, under the protection of Villegagnon, who, to avoid any furprizal, pretended to fet fail again to France with his four gallies, but turning northwards he cleared the Orkneys, and failed immediately to Dunbarton, whither the Queen had been brought by Lord Erskine and Lord Levingston, attended by her eldest natural brother, and many other noblemen and gentlemen of the highest consequence; her female attendants were Lady Fleming, the maternal fifter of her father, and four young ladies of the name of Mary, of the family of Levingston, Fleming, Seton, and Beaton *. Having received the Queen on board, fhe was configned to the care of M. des Termes, who had been appointed for that purpose by the King of France; he landed with his important charge at Brest, after having experienced some bad weather; she

^{*} At this time the maids of honor were called in Scotland "Maries," most probably, because ladies of that Christian name were selected in honor of Mary of Guise, and this Queen.

was conducted to Paris, and educated under the care of his Chrif- PART IX. tian Majesty, by the most skilful masters; and she made so rapid a Mary, Queen progress in all those accomplishments that were fuitable to her high of Scotland. rank, that she became the admiration of the Gallican court. December 14, 1557, the was married to the Dauphin, who, by the death of his father, became King of France July 8, 1559; but his fickly delicate conflitution gave way to fate Dec. 4, in the following year, a misfortune for ever deplored by Mary, who immediately felt the power of the exasperated Catherine de Medici, whom, in her husband's reign, she had so far eclipsed in authority: to avoid the mortifications and defertions the hourly experienced, the left the capital and retired to Jonville, a feat of the Duke of Guife, and from thence to Nantz, to vifit the Duke of Lorrain; after which she went to Rheims. The Scots invited her to return amongst them; the Queen-mother was anxious to have her leave France; her maternal uncles were no longer in power; a cruel deftiny demanded her retiring from a kingdom she so ardenly loved, and at length fhe yielded to the fad necessity; the Queenmother, however, to foften in some measure the morification, affected to pay her daughter all imaginable honor. July 21, 1561, the left Paris, whither the had come to adjust some private concerns, attended by the Kings of France and Navarre, the Queen Regent, the Duke of Anjou (afterwards K. Henry III.) and the flower of the French nobility, who all accompanied her to St. Germains, where the Royal family took their leave of her; but her fix uncles, the Duke of Guife, Cardinals of Lorrain and Guise, the Duke d'Aumale, Marquis d'Elbeuf, the Grand Prior, who was Admiral of France, and other great noblemen, went in her train to Calais, where waited two gallies, which had been intended to have been fent to relieve Leith. About August 15 she embarked on board one of them, and was attended by two other transports, one of which fell into the hands of the English; and as Q. Elizabeth would not grant a fafe conduct, it is difficult to determine whether, had she been captured, she had ever been suffered to return to her dominions. We may suppose the grief of Marylat

PART IX. Mary, Queen of Scetland:

quitting the hospitable shores of France; for she, with unwearied eyes, still looked towards that court, and when no longer able to diffinguish objects, ordered a couch to be put upon deck, with a defire to be awakened when the fun arose, that she might take a final adieu of a kingdom fhe so sincerely loved; the satisfaction was not denied her, for the veffel had made little way during the night, and in the morning her eyes were bleffed with the wished-for fight; when the scene was dying away, she repeatedly exclaimed, " Farewell, dear France! Farewell, enchanting country! I shall " never see you more!" the weather after this became foggy. She was landed fafely at Leith Aug. 20, with three of her uncles, the Duke d'Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis d'Elbeuf; Marshal d'Anville, son and heir of the Constable Montmorency, with other great subjects of France. The Earls of Huntley, Athol, Crawford, Marishal, Rothes, with other noblemen and persons of distinction, received her majesty, and attended her to her palace of Holyrood House; it was in vain to attempt to hide the poverty of her subjects, and the exchange she had made; but the Scots did all they could, by making her public entry into her capital fplendid; the mean bigotry of the Calvinists here shewed itself, for amongst the pageantry exhibited, was a mock altar erected for performing the ceremonies of the mass, and upon it were burnt Corah, Dathan, and Abiram; and it was defigned to have burnt a living Roman Catholic priest, to have made it more marked, but the Earl of Huntley, afterwards a professed Romanist, had the address to prevent fo horrid an action.

What a change of fituation was this to Mary! She had descended from the first throne in Europe; all its splendor, all its charms were lost; instead of her native country and her hereditary subjects affording her satisfaction, the most unfortunate of her unhappy house, she looked around her joyless and wretched; no hope to cheer, no joy to solace her: instead of the tender solicitude of a fond, a doting husband, of affectionate relations, she had no support to lean upon but the austere, severe, and inslexible James, her natu-

ral brother, who fecretly was forming projects to dethrone her, he PART IX. condescended to be her preceptor, but expected implicit obedience, Mary, Ouece though, " according to his nature, he treated her rudely, home- of Scotland. "Iy, and bluntly." Instead of elegant refined nobles, who could feast upon her smiles, and whom a frown would have disgraced, the had stern, inflexible, rude despots, unaccustomed to a superior, and who had often bid defiance to the power of their fovereign, and not feldom treated their persons with contempt; who unwillingly fubmitted to any regal restraint, and looked upon the government of a female with indignation; this was owing to the wretched policy of the feudal fystem, which was preserved in all its original deformity in Scotland; to the smallness of the revenue of the crown; the long minorities of their kings; their affinity to the fovereign, and the crown having feveral times descended into families of their own order. They dreaded Mary's presence, because it might be some check to their wild freedom; for, unawed either by religion, humanity, or civil polity, they led out their numerous dependants to execute a prompt and favage revenge against a neighbouring chieftain; and if their strength was unequal to the premeditated destruction, they called forth others, as powerful and daring spirits as themselves, and having signed a bond of affociation, they surprised and put the enemy to death with a cruelty that augmented the crime; marking too their paths with desolation and flaughter: by fuch it was deemed a meanness to appeal to the laws of their country to demand justice. Kircaldy, the most gallant man in Scotland, prided himself in affishing in the affassination of Cardinal Beaton; and there were few whose hands were not literally stained with human gore. Instead of loyal and dutiful subjects, who looked with awful veneration to majesty, she saw a rude unpolished people, flaves to their Lords; to heighten the picture, these rough fons of the North were divided between the never-to-be reconciled religious opinions of Rome and her opponents. Scotland, though it had never been a rich kingdom, was yet famed for its munificent piety; but now, which way foever the eye was turned, all its holy fanes were smoking in ruins, as if an army of pagan



favages had marched from one extremity of the kingdom to the other; mean flovenliness and wretched poverty appeared instead of the splendid worship and luxurious priesthood of Rome; a vulgar illiterate fet of men, fit only to have been the lowest of the rudest orders of monks, fucceeded, who, to make amends for the penury they had been doomed to by the facrilegious plunderers of the church, adopted the worst and most dangerous usurpations of the ancient hierarchy: instead of one, Scotland had as many popes as priefts, who thundered out excommunications as loud and as tremendous as those of the Vatican. Their imaginations, always occupied with those dreadful examples of punishment mentioned in the history of the Jewish nation, dwelt upon the fate of Agag and Jezabel with fo much energy, that it was obvious they would not have been displeased to have taken a vengeance as severe against their weeping Queen for professing the religion of her ancestors, which they deemed the most wicked idolatry; every decency was a relict of the "Beast;" every elegance was a rag of the "fearlet whore;" every accomplishment that adds grace and dignity to human nature was, in their contracted minds, fymptoms either of infanity or of the most vicious and depraved dispositions; though David danced and fung to his harp, yet music and dancing in Mary's court were a constant subject of cruel invective; and even in the private chapel within the walls of her palace, the Queen was obliged to have a guard, that the people might not break in and offer up the officiating priest as an atonement to offended Heaven. In fine, Scotland was entirely changed from the days of her father and grandfather; instead of a well-regulated kingdom, all was anarchy and confusion; religious bigotry spread itself throughout the land, an object of scorn to other nations; its trade lost, its industry and wealth vanished; deserted and despised by its ancient and then natural ally; its nobility pensioners to their enemies; none of its former refined manners were visible; even the palaces were plundered of every thing but their walls; and whilst England was approaching fast to civilization, the fister kingdom was gone back a century into barbarism. Mortified, yet not desponding, the strove to divert the keenness of recollection by the care she took PART IX. of the internal government of her kingdom, appointing three days Mary, Queen in every week for expediting the causes of her poor subjects, aug- of Scotland. menting, too, the falaries of the Judges, to compensate for their extraordinary trouble; and the often fat in her courts of equity, to personally befriend the injured: she figned instructions with her own hand, for the more speedy administration of justice; particularly in those courts that had been established instead of the confiftorial ones of the Bishops; and she prided herself in following the plan that her father had been so much praised for, by going progreffes into various parts of the kingdom, following at those times, like him, the diversions of the chace, except when the pursued the malecontents, or still more ferocious borderers; for then, armed with piftols stuck in her girdle, she slew with the rapidity of an eagle, and at once brought them to submission, or obliged them to feek an afylum out of her dominions; fo that at one and the same time the made her person known to all her subjects, and caused her authority to be respected; teaching her rude retainers, that the sovereign was far above the chieftains, and that obedience must be paid to the laws of their country. By these means she gained much upon the passions and prejudices of the generality of her subjects; her moderation, especially in religion, greatly accelerated this. At home the became respectable; and though the vindictive Catherine guided the sceptre in France, and England was ruled by the haughty Elizabeth seach of whom were professedly her enemies. yet .: In a Soject of the greatest attention and consequence: Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, and the generally reputed heir to the English crown; and, by the Roman Catholic powers, as having a better claim to it than Elizabeth, who wore it: thefe circumstances made even that great Queen, as well as Catherine. court her friendship. Nothing is more true than that Europe offered Mary for her choice all her unmarried potentates, and Britain her. most illustrious and most accomplished youths; but in compliance with the wishes of Elizabeth, and of the Scots, she rejected the former, that the might unite her defliny with one of the latter ;

Maty, Queen of Scotland.

PART IX, and the personal charms and accomplishments of Darnley fixed her inclination; but his exterior was deceitful; he had not a fingle virtue to atone for his want of fense and judgement; passion, however, for him, and refentment to Elizabeth for fo long playing with her feelings, made her lofe fight of prudence, and precipitated her into ruin; for had she weighed the matter with her former caution, the must have been convinced of the danger of making him her husband, from the many specimens he, as well as his father, had given of their folly and rashness. Murray, the artful Murray. her treacherous brother, whose eyes had constantly viewed the crown with envious defire, could not submit to be less than the first fubject in the kingdom; nor could he bend to the capricious will of a stripling: detesting her choice, disappointed in glutting his. revenge, all his former hatred to Mary returned, and with it all his ill-fmothered criminal ambition; and he never rested until, to gratify both, he first rendered her authority contemptible, and by conspiring with Bothwell and others the death of Darnley, and by obtaining her subsequent marriage with his wicked affociate, and lastly by throwing all the odium of Darnley's affassination upon her, did this infamous minister, and unprincipled brother, precipitate Mary from her throne to a prison, and threw a stain of the blackest hue from his own to fix it upon her reputation; and which it has required more than two centuries to wipe off. It would take more than a volume to write at full length all the calamities that overwhelmed this most unfortunate, most injured Queen; the task would be equally unpleasant to me and to the reader; I shall therefore only briefly state here, that after the fatal catastrophe of her fecond husband, she was deposed by the confederated Peers, under pretence of punishing her for marrying the very person they had recommended to her, and this too though they had folemnly promised, if she would surrender herself to them, and send Bothwell away, they would honor and respect her as highly as they or their ancestors ever had any of her predecessors. The Queen put herfelf into the hands of her revolting nobles at Carberry Hill June 15, 1567, in fight of both armies. After instigating the lowest of the

people to infult her with the most scandalous epithets, such as are PART IX. only used by, and to, the most abandoned of her fex, they fent her, Mary, Queen in the meanest and most wretched dress they could procure, (a of Scotland. coarse woollen cassock) a prisoner to the castle of Lochleven, fituated in the midst of a lake, to be insulted and scoffed at by the mistress of her father, without a friend, or even an attendant to footh her piercing forrow; here threatened with, and expecting a public and ignominious death, fhe refigned, July 24, 1567, her crown in favor of her fon, which heart-rending action she the more readily complied with, from the perfuation of the English ambaffador, who privately informed her, that as it was in prifon it must be adjudged compulsion, and consequently void. After remaining in this dreary "forticle" until the month of May, she won over to her interest a young gentleman, either by the power of her personal - attractions, by inspiring him with ambition, by promises of reward, or by compassion for her unparalleled misfortunes, and who safely conveyed her to the shore, where a party of her friends waited to receive her with the duty of loyal subjects, and who were desirous to restore her to that diadem which had been cruelly wrested from her; but the battle of Langfide, fought May 13, 1568, put an end to all hope of that being effected; and in an evil hour the threw herfelf under the protection of her fifter Queen, claiming it from the promife Elizabeth had made, if it ever should be wanting, in token of which the had given the royal fugitive, in her happier days, a ring as a pledge; but the wretched Mary found she had only exchanged a Scotch for an English prison; and for eighteen years she was confined in various castles, or castilated houses; but never, though the earnestly requested it, was permitted to have an interview with her rival Queen, who, after treating her with a feverity that stains a reign otherwise one of the most glorious that any age can boast, indecently subjected her, though an independant, but unfortunate, fovereign, to a trial, and having obtained a verdict against her by the commissioners she had nominated, confirmed their sentence; and finding those to whom she had entrusted the unhappy Mary unwilling fecretly to put her to death, fent down a warrant

PART IX. for her execution, under the authority of which she was brought Mary, Queen into the hall of Fotheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire, and publicly beheaded February 8, 1586-7, having lived forty-five years. It is difficult to fay whether Elizabeth was more refined in her cruelty to Mary, or the latter more dignified in bearing it; infults and wrongs only called forth more heroifm, and though the complained with the delicacy of a lady, yet the never loft the grandeur of a Queen: she seemed greater at her death than in any action of her life, and even triumphed in the grave over her rival. Her body was buried with a pomp fuitable to her prosperous state, not as a criminal; the cathedral of Peterborough was appointed by Elizabeth as the place for her interment, though she had requested to have her remains conveyed to France, and laid by those of the Queen, her mother, because, as she says in her last letter to Elizabeth, " in England, which had departed from the true reli-"gion, she could not hope to be interred with the Kings, our " progenitors, according to the ceremonies of the Catholic church; " and in Scotland the fepulchres of her ancestors had been pro-" faned and violated;" but James VI. her fon, with filial piety, removed them from Peterborough in 1612, and deposited them with those of the sovereigns of England, in the chapel built by K. Henry VII. for the dormitory of himself and his posterity. There is a particular relation printed of this unhappy Queen's interment in Peterborough cathedral, by which it appears many of the nobility and gentry of both fexes attended, and the Countess of Bedford was chief mourner, all of them habited in black. The removal to Westminster Abbey was private; over the vault is a magnificent monument erected to her memory by K. James VI.

> The misfortunes of Mary in Scotland arose from having had an education, and having refided in a court, that made her feel a contempt for her subjects, which she could not always conceal: she should either have never trusted or never dismissed the able, but wicked, Murray; and it was extreme ill policy to confide in Rizzio, and to permit him to behave with an indignant pride and haughti-

ness to her greatest peers; he even exceeded the King, her husband, PART IX. in the number of his attendants, and perhaps too in the richness of Mary, Queen his wardrobe; fuch insolence would not have been suffered even in of Scotland. the Gallican court, then the region of favoritism; and though the circumstances of his age, his ugliness, her pregnancy, the silence of her nobles, and Elizabeth's agents, are amply sufficient to exculpate her from any criminalty, yet the impolicy of it must have been obvious to every one, and ought to have been feen in the fame light by herself; for what body of fierce, independant, and ignorant chieftans, with armed attendants, would ever fit quiet under the infults of a foreign musician, elevated to be a Secretary of State, and ingross entirely the favor of their sovereign, who, contrary to the custom of her country, admitted him into private select parties in her bedchamber. The marriage of Darnley, and giving him the title of King, which the was not legally authorifed to do, was another imprudent step; but the surrendering her hand to Bothwell was fuch a mistake, that it was impossible she could ever recover; and she ought to have seen the studied plan laid by him and his adherents; a plan which the latter formed merely to ruin her. She should never have rested until she had brought Darnley's murderers to justice; she should have called upon her people to assist; called upon France, upon all Europe; to espouse her just cause: this would have raifed her character, and established her authority; the guilty would have fled, and thus herfelf and Scotland would have been freed from their greatest enemies, enemies that never rested until they had affected her ruin: but Mary seemed never to know when it was proper to punish, or to pardon. After having called forth the just refentment of Elizabeth in affuming her title and the arms of England, fhe should not only have given her every possible satisfaction, but have restrained herself from any attempts against the Queen in her dominions, as it gave occasion for Elizabeth to counterplot her, with that advantage that a rich fovereign has over a poor one. Mary was equal in diffimulation to Elizabeth, but inferior in judgment; the one had been nursed by prosperity, the other had studied mankind, --- had drank of the bitter cup of afflic-



tion: but in nothing was the Scottish Queen so blameable as in her religious conduct, tolerant above her contemporaries; yet was she prevailed upon to join in that detestable project of exterminating the reformed, and by imprudently betraying the important fecret, fhe made her ruin defirable by all those who were attached to the reformation; and it would have been the greatest bar to her fucceeding to the English throne, the great object of all her care. These causes affected her ruin in Scotland; and her intermeddling with the affairs of Elizabeth, kept alive, and riveted that jealoufy which Mary had raifed in her breaft whilst in France*; it multiplied misfortunes upon her, fo that both the English Queen and her ministers equally fought, and wished, her ruin; for to the one she feemed a most dangerous enemy, and the other dreaded finding in her their future fovereign, an implacable mistress; and the parliament, even the nation at large, had fuch a dread of a renewal of the horrid cruelties they had experienced in the days of Q. Mary I., that they beheld the person, and claim of the Scottish sovereign, as fraught with the utmost danger; instead therefore of compassionating fallen majefty, of lamenting the misfortunes of Mary, they urged, they almost demanded, that she should be facrificed to their common fafety. It is true they viewed her as an adultress, and a murderer; for her cruel brother and his partizans had aspersed her as fuch, and not only they, but all Christendom, believed the infamous falsehood; yet the English hated her more as the conspirator against their sovereign, and as the enemy of their religion, than on account of her supposed crime against K. Henry her husband. In a country where fo little regard was had to the royal dignity, at a period when the Christian world was divided between the contending interests of the antient superstition and the strenuous advocates for a reformation, --- when fuch adepts in diffimulation employed

^{*} Mary's warmest partizans blame her conduct whilst a prisoner in England, especially in her last years. Catherine de Medici and Philip II., King of Spain, spoke of it with levity and contempt; and it was generally said that she copied the restless spirit of the House of Lorraine, her maternal relations, which led them as well as her into ruin,

their minds against her repose, can it be wondered that Mary was PART IX. unable to ride out the fform? A parallel between her and Elizabeth Mary, Queen cannot be drawn, without, in imagination, we place Mary upon of Scotland. her throne, and feat Elizabeth upon that of Scotland: in that case her beauty, elegance, good fenfe, and clemency, would have won, we may suppose, every heart, and probably she would have been thought not an exalted character as a politician, yet her name would have been transmitted to posterity in the fairest and most amiable light: and, possibly, had Elizabeth been called to preside over the then-uncultivated people of Scotland, inftead of the admiration with which historians defervedly speak of her, she might not even have been able to retain the fovereign power, but might have "fell from " all her greatness." It is universally allowed that Mary greatly excelled the English Queen in all the winning graces and accomplishments, as she did in the beauty of her person; and in which the shone with meridian splendor, for in both she was made to charm and captivate; tall and majestic; in her form was a perfect symmetry; her complection eminently united the rose with the lilly; her eyes were a dark grey, expressive of whatever passion she felt in the strongest manner; her fine black hair was the best contrast to the beautiful whiteness of her complection; her hands and arms were peculiarly delicate, both in make and color; none excelled her in dancing, walking, or riding, in all which the beauties of her person were rendered still more lovely. Conscious of her varied attractions she studied to set them off to the best advantage, by the richness and elegance of her dress, in which her taste was just; she loved to display her costly jewels, and was sedulous to have the finest linen, and which was fent from Paris, after she left France, and even whilst a captive in England*, She spoke with peculiar grace, and read with the justest pronunciation; she knew several of the modern languages, and wrote with ease in Latin; her poetry

[•] Mary in the midst of her distresses in the castle of Lochleven, when her life was in danger, could not refrain from desiring her brother Murray to take care of her jewels. Elizabeth was mean and vain enough to have Mary's linen brought to her, that she might see, and copy the pattern.



is plaintive and expressive: she had a just taste for music, and played with uncommon skill upon the lute; and she beguiled some of the lonely hours of imprisonment with her needle; but the dreadful miseries she so long endured threw her into an ill state of health, and at her death she had all the marks of a premature old age, fat, lame, sunk in her chest, bowed down, one arm almost useless, and her once-ebon hair was silvered over; but she lost neither her majestic mien, nor magnanimity. There is a silver medal of her, with the falling tear, which probably gives her features as they were in her last days. It would be tedious to mention all the pictures and engraved portraits of Mary; the latter are almost constantly multiplying. She was extremely fond of devices and mottoes, as appears by her coins, medals, jettoons, and the state bed she embroidered with gold and filk, which Drummond particularly describes *: a relation of them would be tiresome.

Queen Mary had three great feals; the first gives her seated upon a throne, with a closed crown, a sceptre in one hand, and the other upon her breast, inscribed MARIA DEI GRATIA REGINA SCOTORV.

The reverse the arms of Scotland, crowned, and with supporters, and banners with St. Andrews' cross, saltier wise, legend salum FAC POPULUM TUUM DNE.

The fecond feal has King Francis and Queen Mary represented fitting under a canopy; upon his robes are dolphins, hers are charged with ermine spots; each crowned, he with the order of St. Michael, each holding two sceptres, one of his ends in a fleur de lis, the other an hand: she has one terminating in an orb, surmounted with a cross, the other an hand, inscribed with their titles. The reverse has the arms of France and Scotland, the shield is small,

^{*} Query—whether the above is the same bed that is now at Scone, in the ancient palace granted by K. James VI. to Sir David Murray, of Gospatrie? It is, says Mr. Pennant, "a medley scripture-piece, done in needle work, with a border of animals, pretty well done, and whilst she was a prisoner at the castle of Loch-"leven."

and the arms placed in a very peculiar manner; on each fide are PARTIX. F, and M.

Francis II., King of France and Scotland, the first husband of Mary, Francis II., K. Queen of Scots.

Scotland, firft husband of Q.

Nothing could appear so advantageous for both the British nations as the marriage of Queen Mary with Prince Edward, the only fon of King Henry VIII.; but this wife measure was defeated, though once agreed upon, owing to the dislike of the Roman Catholic clergy, but more, perhaps, from the boifterous conduct of K. Henry who, inflead of a gentle conciliating manner to win their approbation, feifed during the negociation fome Scottish ships peaceably trading to France: this altered the determination of the people, many of whom before it happened feemed anxious to have the contending nations united together; and the great prisoners taken at Salway-Moss had so influenced the Parliament, that it had been agreed that Mary at ten years of age should be sent into England, but this rashness of Henry overturned the whole. It must be allowed that he had always treated the Sovereigns of Scotland with an affectionate tenderness as his nearest relations; but the Scots, with that contempt which his own power and their factious manners inspired, and as " a beastly people regarding neither God nor their "governors." Sensible, however, of his error, he throve all he possibly could to regain the confidence of the leaders of the faction, and even offered his own daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, in marriage to the regent; but finding his terms rejected, he threatened to force them into his measures, and forgetting all justice and moderation, he fent an army that defolated the fouth of Scotland. Edinburgh and Leith were burnt, and the whole country through which the army marched was plundered; instead of intimidating the Scots, it united them in one general fentiment, that no alliance should be made with England. However, Henry pursued his aim, and opened another treaty; but his death followed almost immeof France and Scotland, first

PART IX. diately *, and the Duke of Somerset, governor of K. Edward VI., Francis 11., K. his fuccessor, and Regent of the kingdom during his minority. perfifted in the impolitic plan of the late King, in attempting to husband of Q. force Scotland to accept the propositions for the marriage, and for that purpose led a gallant army into the kingdom, and though one of the greatest victories, which the English ever gained in Scotland, crowned his arms, yet, as he was obliged to haften back, it gave them time to recover from their confernation; and inviting 6000 veteran troops from France, they furrendered up their independance to that court to avert the danger they feared from that of London; but it was a measure they greatly lamented; and from the insolence that ever has accompanied the French in every part of Europe, in all ages, it gave the Scots fuch a diflike to the nation, as to break through a friendship that had been of very long duration. Mary however was fent to France for education, and at length a treaty of marriage was agreed upon between her and Francis, the Dauphin; but it did not meet with the approbation of the wife Montmorency, who advised that she should be given to a Prince of the Blood, because, said the constable, " he may then reside in Scot-" land, and retain it as a useful ally to France; but if it becomes " a province to the crown, it will be mutinous and ungovernable;" but he became a prisoner to Spain, and the all-powerful Guises, her uncles, procured the marriage to take effect. By articles dated at Paris, April 19, 1558, it was agreed that the Dauphin should marry the Queen of Scots, and that she should accept of him as her husband in the face of holy church, on Sunday, April 24 .-That if he should die King of France, she, as Queen dowager. should enjoy a jointure of 6000 livres tournois, or a greater sum if she chose it, and it could be proved that any Queen dowager of France ever poffeffed such .- That if he should die before her, his widow should be entitled to 30,000 livres tournois, from lands in

^{*} King Henry VIII. at last took an aversion to the Scottish branch of his family, preferring the defcendants of his younger fifter, and entailing the crown upon them, in failure of iffue of his own children, and which the parliament had given him leave to do; but at Elizabeth's death no stress was put upon it.

Tourain and Poictou, in as ample a manner as the late Queen Ele- PART IX. anor, dowager of France, had .- That in the meantime the estates Francis 11., K. of Scotland should have reason to be contented with the honorable scotland, first provision which the King of France should make to their Queen Mary. and the Dauphin.-That if he should die before her, she may either remain in France, or return to Scotland if the pleafed, there to enjoy her jointure, and remarry as her parliament should council her; nor should she be hindered from carrying with her all the jewels, furniture, &c., which belongs to the Queen of France, and that whether the had children or not .- That the eldest fon of the marriage, or his representative, should succeed to both the kingdoms of France and Scotland, and take the arms of both kingdoms under the fame crown. - That if there were only daughters, the eldest, or her iffue, should succeed to the crown of Scotland, and not marry without the joint confent of the King of France and the Scotch Estates, and should have at marriage the sum of 300,000 crowns of the fun, and every one of her fifters should have 300,000 crowns of the fame currency. In confideration of which, the Scots ambassador had promised to take an oath of sidelity in the name of the Estates of Scotland, after the marriage was solemnized, to the Dauphin, as husband of the Queen; to honor and obev him, during the marriage, and the children of the marriage, in the same manner as their predecessiors did the royal progenitors of the Scotch Queen: and that the King of France and the Scotch Queen had also agreed, that the Dauphin should bear the title of King of Scotland, and quarter the arms of that realm with his own. These articles were figned and folemnly fworn to by the contracting parties on both fides, in the presence of his Most Christian Majesty's sons, the Dukes of Orleans and Angoulefme; his daughters, the Princeffes Elizabeth and Claude; his fifter Margaret, Duchefs of Berry; the King and Queen of Navarre; the Cardinals of Lorrain, Bourbon, Chastillon, and Guise; the Duke of Lorrain and Barr, the Prince of Condé, the Dukes of Guise, Nemours, D'Aumale, and many others of inferior dignity; and yet they were only fnares to impose upon the Scottish Nation; for to the infamy of all concerned, except

PART IX. Francis and Mary, (whose ages must plead their excuse) the Queen Fracis II., K. was obliged, April 4, to fign three deeds: by the first she refigned of France and in free gift the kingdom of Scotland to him and his heirs, if she husband of Q. died childless; by another, she lest him and his heirs her kingdom, until he was reimburfed a million pieces of eight, or any greater fum that might be found to have been expended upon her education in France; and by the third, she declared all promises she had made contrary to these, which the necessity of her affairs and the folicitations of her subjects had extorted, or might extort from her, to be void, and of no obligation. What language has words to express a sufficient abhorrence for such perfidy! especially as the Scotch commissioners obliged the King, Queen, and Dauphin, to ratify the fuccession of the crown to the Duke of Chatellerault, and to declare and promife that Scotland should be preserved in all itsancient immunities, and governed by its laws. The commissioners, confifting of an archbishop, two bishops, two lords, a prior, and a" gentleman, reprefenting the estates of the kingdom, unsuspecting any fraud, confented to the nuptials, which were folemnized by the Cardinal of Bourbon, according to the treaty, before a most august affembly, confifting of all those who had witnessed the treaty; and as the nations were to be governed by this royal pair, the ancient league was renewed, and the subjects of the one kingdom declared denizens of the other, and the bride and groom were stiled King-Dauphin and Queen-Dauphiness upon their great seal, money, grants, and charters; the regalia of Scotland was taken over to France, for the parliament of that kingdom, though with reluctance, had granted him the crown matrimonial, by which he was to keep the crown for life, even if he survived the Queen his confort *. By the accidental death of King Henry II., Francis fucceeding, the became Queen of France. The royal pair were

^{*} To put the expression CROWN MATRIMONIAL upon the plainest footing, it should be observed that it was not, as Philip, King of Spain, was complimented with the title of King of England, but as King William III. possessed it, in imitation of the custom in England and Scotland of private estates being held for life by the widower of a feme covert; the Duke of Chatellerault in vain protesting against the acts.

crowned at Rheims by the Cardinal of Lorrain, her uncle, Sept. 8, PART IX. 1550. Francis had always been fickly, he gradually grew worfe, Francis II., K. his body was covered with the difgufting effects of an inveterate scotland, first feurry, which at length attacking him internally, proved fatal, husband of Q. Dec. 5, 1560, after a reign of one year and five months, when he had lived not quite eighteen years. His character is marked by no vice, nor scarce any virtue, except the most unbounded affection for his charming blooming wife; and it must be acknowledged . that the had great merit in being faithful and attentive to fuch a husband: she acted with great propriety in France, yet in a court where females have borne such great sway, she never appears in a firiking point of view, but only as the blind tool of her uncle's ambition. Francis's funeral was celebrated with fo little ceremony, that it brought a difgrace upon the Queen regent, his mother; nor did the Guises escape the censure of ingratitude; for only Sansac and La Broffe, who had been his governors, and Guillard, the blind Bishop of Senlis, attended the royal corpse to St. Dennis. Some person, shocked with the indecency of this neglect, placed a billet upon the pall, inscribed "Were are you, Tannequy du "Chatel!" a grateful favorite of Charles VII., who, though banished by him, seeing his master's remains shamefully forsaken, at his own charge buried them with the magnificent folemnity due to a fovereign. Mary was a fincere mourner for his death, which she deplored in plaintive language, expressive of her loss, as if forefeeing the future calamities that awaited her. The elegant Henry Pye, Esq., has translated her poetic lamentations.

Henry, King of Scotland, second husband of Q. Mary.

As fovereign of Scotland, presumptive heir to England, Mary was the object of general desire, and her late marriage with a monarch of France seems to have augmented, if possible, her consequence. The great rivals of Austria and Valois strove which should obtain the prize; Don Carlos, the heir of Spain, was the greatest

Henry, King of Scotland, fecond hufband of Q. Mary.

PART IX. alliance that could have been proposed; and Philip II, took uncommon pains to obtain Mary for his fon; Charles, the Archduke of Austria, third son of the Emperor Ferdinand I. was also defirous of gaining a crown. Henry, Duke of Anjou, folicited her hand, the fame who afterwards became King, and in whom ended the house of Valois. Eric, King of Sweden, sent over his brother as his ambassador, to offer a participation of his throne. Anthony, King of Navarre, was fo defirous of becoming a real fovereign, (for nearly the whole of the kingdom he claimed in right of Joan, the only child of Henry II. of Navarre, was withheld by the Spanish monarchs) that he offered to obtain a divorce, and unite himself to her. Lewis Bourbon, Duke of Condé, and Alphonso, Duke of Ferrara, were also her suitors, and yet none of them espoused her. Catherine de Medici, the whole house of Valois, and even Elizabeth, united in one common resolution to oppose it. Philip grasped at universal empire; Britain would have made him more than the arbiter of Europe; and besides it would have been a mean of raifing the Guises, Catherine's enemies, to a power that would have been fatal to all her hopes of ambition: she leaned therefore to a marriage with the Archduke Charles; but Elizabeth opposed all foreign alliances, especially with the house of Austria, and to effectually prevent it, cajoled the Emperor, Charles' father, with the hopes of giving her hand and the sceptre of England to him; and, though she had once before deceived him, yet she artfully imposed upon him a fecond time: neither did the Spanish branch of Austria wish to see so great an aggrandisement to that of Germany; Maximilian, the eldest brother of Charles, too was jealous of the marriage, and opposed it all he could, as knowing that if the fickly heir of the Spanish dominions died, it might open projects to Charles to demand the government of the Low Countries, and that he would lie advantageously situated to enforce those claims: all these circumstances combining, it was no wonder he was obliged to relinquish his pretensions. Catherine de Medici gave a commission, impowering her fon, the Duke of Anjou, to make propofals; Mary loved France most passionately, but there was more urgent reasons than

Elizabeth's displeasure, to make her resign up the wish of her heart, PART IX. to return to that favorite kingdom: the inconveniences which Ca-Henry, King therine of Spain experienced in marrrying two brothers, Arthur and of Scotland, fecond hulband K. Henry VIII., were too obvious not to be noticed, and too recent of Q. Mary. to be forgotten; befides, the idea of entering France in an inferior station hurt her pride; and the being subject to the will of a motherin-law, whose vindictive temper she had experienced, was an obiection not to be furmounted. The latter of these reasons prevented her listening to the wishes of the Scots, who were desirous of her marrying the Prince of Condé, perhaps, the most advantageous alliance of any for them; as to Sweden, Navarre, and Ferrara, the Queen declined all thoughts of them; the characters of the kings were fuch as forbade her to hope for happiness with them; and Ferrara was too distant to be any thing but an incumbrance to her .-Elizabeth fo earnestly urged that all friendship must cease, if any marriage was contracted by her with the houses of Valois or Austria, and her own subjects equally fearing again falling under the yoke of a great foreign potentate, together with the jealousies of the princes themselves, precluded Mary from marrying any of them: the therefore listened to the wishes of Britain, in fixing upon some illustrious person, a native, who could not raise a fear, either in the breafts of her own fubjects, or in those she one day hoped to reign over*. The great policy of Mary was to fecure the fuccef-

· Don Carlos, Prince of Spain, son of Philip II., K. of Spain, by Mary, daughter of John III., K. of Portugal, was born in 1545, -died in imprisonment, by the command of his father, in 1568, unmarried; he was deformed in his person, and rash to excess. The Archduke Charles III., fon of the Emperor Ferdinand I., was born in 1540, obtained Stiria, Carinthea, and Carniola; he married Mary, daughter of Albert V., Duke of Bavaria, by whom he had Ferdinand II., who, by the failure of the male line of the two cldest sons of Ferdinand I., became Emperor. Henry, Duke of Anjou, became K. of France in 1673, and married in 1575 the daughter of the Earl of Varedemont, in Lorrain, by whom he had no male iffue; he was a most cruel, timid, superstitious prince, and never fincerely attached himself to Mary's interest in her adversity; he was killed, in 1589, by James Clement, a fanatical friar. a partizan of the holy league formed against him. Eric, K. of Sweden, was born in 1521, paid his addresses to both the British Queens, yet afterwards married a mean

PART IX. of Q. Mary.

fion of England; the therefore affected to be guided by Elizabeth Henry, King in this momentous business, who proposed her marrying some great of Scotland, second husband English peer, and fixed upon two, that she might make her election; but Elizabeth only wanted to protract the time, and keep her still a widow; the Queen of England named only Lord Robert Dudley. The mutual diffimulation of these rivals was beyond credibility, whilst each was carrying on dangerous plots in the other's dominions, and though it was probably Darnley that Elizabeth wished Mary to-marry, yet she used every argument in her power to perfuade Mary, her ambassadors, and commissioners, to agree to accept Dudley; she called him her "dear lord," wore his miniature, and, to shew her familiar attachment to him, in the presence of Melvil, the Scottish ambassador, she tiekled him in the neck, protesting fine would marry him herself, if she wished a husband; and that she regarded him as a "brother and her best friend;" and the faid her fifter could not do better than marry him, because the should be fure he would not attempt any thing to prejudice her titles: to make him of a rank more deserving the intended honor, the created him Baron Denbigh, and foon after Earl of Leicester, gave him confiderable grants to support his rank, and then graced him with the Garter *. But Mary and her subjects scorned the al-

> girl, who had been his mistress: in a fit of infanity he cut off many of his nobles; for these reasons his brother deposed him in 1568, and having usurped his throne, was not content in the enjoyment of it, until, after making him fuffer dreadful cruelties in a wretched prison, in the isle of Aland, he poisoned him. Anthony, King of Navarre, was a man of understanding, but depraved manners; he was killed in battle in 1562, in the civil wars of France. The gallant Prince of Condé, born in 1530, and killed in the fame way, in 1569, at Jarnac: he was ancestor to the Princes of Condé and Conti. Alphonfo, Duke of Ferrara, was fon of Hercules II., by Renata, daughter and fole heir of Louis XII., K. of France. Alphonfo died without iffue in 1595, when the Pope feized upon Ferrara as a fief of the Holy-fec. . How unfortunate were most of these Princes!

> * Robert, Earl of Leicester, Knight of the orders of St. George and St. Michael, was fifth fon of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, attainted and beheaded in the reign of Q. Mary I.: he was master of the horse, and Lord Steward of the household to Q. Elizabeth, besides holding many other great and important posts; he was never estemeed a man of abilities, but his person charmed the heart of his mistress; she

liance; the commissioners seemed more desirous of the Earl of Bed-partix. ford, and not of a peer so newly created as Leicester; he too Henry, King thought the proposition dangerous for himself, apologizing that he of Scotland, second husband not the presumption to think he could be accepted; saying it of Q. Mary.

was extremely partial to him; it was univerfally known that when the expressed her vaft furprife, that her relation the Duchess of Suffolk should so far forget her dignity as to marry her Master of Horse; the Duchess replied, "and so would her majesty "too if the durft." This nobleman was fo guilty of poisoning, that it was called "a "Leicester fever;" yet this wretch was a puritan, and their constant patron: he died at Cornebury Lodge, in Oxfordshire, Sep. 4, 1588, and so poor, that his funeral was very private; and the Queen feized upon his property to pay herfelf the debts he owed her. He married thrice; 1st. Ann, daughter of Sir Robsart Knight, whose life he took away to remove an impediment to his obtaining the hand of his fovereign, but finding his ambirion defeated, he privately married, 2d, Douglas, daughter of Wil. Lord Howard, fifter of Charles, Earl of Nottingham, and widow of Lord Sheffield: by this Countels he had Sir Robert Dudley; but as he durst not at first own, and afterwards did not chuse to do it, he never acknowledged him as legitimate: this illused gentleman retiring to Florence, was declared by the Emperor Ferdinand II. a Duke, and took his grandfather's title of Northumberland; he was one of the greateft men of the age for abilities. The Earl of Leicester had a criminal passion for Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knowles, treasurer to Q. Elizabeth, and at that time wife of Robert Devereux, Earl of Effex: no enormity stood in his way to accomplish his purposes; he therefore took off that nobleman whilst in Ireland, and to dispatch his own wife gave her poifon, which, though she lost by it her hair and nails, did not destroy her, but it influenced her so far as to confent to drop all claim to her unprincipled husband; he therefore married the Counters dowager of Essex, by whom he had one fon, Robert, Baron of Denbigh, who died young. Robert, her fon by Lord Effex, was the elegant, accomplished, and unfortunate favorite of Q. Elizabeth, and father of the Parliament General in the reign of K. Charles I. She afterwards married a third husband, Sir Christopher Blount, Knight, who was beheaded March 15, 1601, for being engaged in the infurrection of his half brother, the Earl of Effex: his widow died Dec. 25, 1634. Gervas Clifton wrote her epitaph; in it he fays, speaking of her person,

- " Here may you fee that face, that hand,
- " Which once was fairest in the land."

and of her love for Leicester,

- " She that in her youth had been
- " Darling to the maiden Queen,
- " Till the was content to quit
- ".Her favor for her favorite."

PART IX. of Q. Mary.

was done by his enemies to make him suspected by one Queen, and hated by the other. Mary had for some time carried on a negocia-Henry, King hated by the other. Mary had for some time carried on a negocia-of Scotland, tion with the Counters of Lenox; by which that lady perceived how much she wished to marry Lord Darnley, her fon; the profpect of fo rich a match was too flattering to her, not to accept the proposition with avidity; this was not, however, so secretly carried on, but that Elizabeth was apprized of it, and probably she was most highly pleased, whilst Catherine de Medici was hurt; she could not bear that Scotland should be lost to France, and the uncles of Mary exerted all their influence and arts to break off the marriage. Elizabeth's penetration discovered itself, when, after asking of Melvil his opinion respecting Leicester, she pointed to Darnley, who, as first Prince of the blood, carried the sword of state; " you like better of yonder long lad;" but he, with seeming furprize, replied, " no woman of fpirit could make choice of "fuch a man,"-" for he was handsome, beardless, and lady-faced." There were very powerful reasons for this partiality in the Queen of Scotland to him; she thought it would much advance and strengthen her claim to the English diadem, because his mother was one degree nearer to K. Henry VII. than herfelf; she was born in England, knew and was known to all the great characters of the nations; and if the and her family thould become Protestants, and ally themselves to some potent house in England, it was impossible to have faid what the confequences would have been; the laws of fuccession were not at that time precisely settled in Europe; and what was still more material, in her opinion, she thought that the crown of England, like private estates, could not be claimed by a foreigner, without an express act of Parliament to make the heir a denizen; though this was an error, she did not ever know to the contrary; but there were fome other reasons why she wished to marry Darnley, for she thought it would gratify the Scots to have not only the fon of a native reign with her, but that the crown would, by their iffue, remain in the fame family; the Stuart line would be continued by the union of the two branches.

Actuated by these sentiments, she invited the Earl of Lenox, his PART IX. father, into Scotland, intimating a defire to restore him to his na-Heary, King tive country, his family honors, and possessing Elizabeth gave fecond husband permission, and wrote a letter to recommend him to Mary, who of Q. Mary. received him with peculiar diftinction, which alarmed and irritated the rival House of Hamilton. Elizabeth seeing this, to return the compliment for the plots she carried on with her Roman Catholic fubjects, openly espoused the cause of the Hamiltons, and dictatorially cautioned her majesty not to excite diffention in her court by her partiality to Lenox, which fo highly irritated her fifter of Scotland, that the openly reproached her with duplicity; Elizabeth recriminated, and all correspondence was dropt; the intended personal interview was laid aside; but the Queen of England having punished one of her subjects for writing in favor of the pretensions of the house of Suffolk to the crown of England, it fostened Mary; negociations were opened, Leicester was again warmly recommended, the Scotch commissioners spoke of his pretensions with still greater contempt and dislike: both Murray and Lethington feeing that it was only to amuse, as only general proposals were offered, if the marriage was to take effect, broke off a treaty equally infincere on both fides. However, Mary and the Lenox family, alike defirous of the union, fecretly purfued the plan they had formed; Lady Lenox asked permission also for her son to go into Scotland, that he might partake of the pleasure his father received in that kingdom, which Elizabeth was also defirous of, fearing otherwise that Mary should close with the proposal of marrying Leicester, to whom she was too much attached to part with for any motive whatever; and the flattered herfelf that the could recal him again as her fubject whenfoever she pleased, especially as she had his mother and their English estates as pledges for their obedience; therefore, if the did not permit, the did not oppose his going; previous to which his father had his attainture taken off by the Parliament of Scotland, and he was restored to all his claims of

Henry, King of Scotland, fecond huiband

rank and inheritance *. In February, 1565, Darnley came into Scotland, and was prefented to her majesty at Wemyss, in Fife, in her progress, unbending herself with all the amusements she could of Q. Mary, cobrain. What had been planned by policy, was finished by love; Mary was entirely captivated by his person and elegant qualifications; fuperficial indeed, but made to give that inflantaneous impression that rivets affection, and which is perhaps never to be obliterated: cautious as the was of expressing her sentiments relative to marriage, the was furprifed into a declaration in praife of his person, saying, "he was the properest and best proportioned long "man that ever fhe had feen;" and as he carried away the praife of all in the constant amusements of banquets, masks, and balls given by Mary, the funk into the foft delirium, and every idea of flate policy gave place to the most tender, most amiable of passions. It was now in vain that the Emperor offered a greater fortune with the Archduke Charles, as he had discovered the second deception of Elizabeth. Catherine de Medici's propofal of punctuality in paying her dowry, of restoring the pensions to the Scotch nobility, of gratifying her in any thing she wished, was to no more purpose - than Elizabeth's threats, protestations, and blandishments; for she had imprisoned the Countess of Lenox, she had fent a letter, figned by herfelf and privy counfellors, to declare it was a dangerous and rash undertaking, and advising the Queen not to think of this alliance, and even demanded both his and his father's return . The Princes of Lorrain, whom Mary had used to listen to with a fond obedience, were now thought officious; and Murray, whom

^{*} Q. Mary acted with uncommon prudence in pacifying the Hamiltons and others who had obtained the possessions of the house of Stuart, of the Lenox branch; but the rashness of the Earl and his son defeated her well-judged designs.

⁺ The Scottish Queen, foreseeing what would happen, had precluded the necessity of the Earl of Lenox returning into England upon pecuniary accounts, even before he was reflored to his estates, by negociating a loan of 50,000l. Scotch, or about 12,000l. flerling; he was, however, dejected, knowing the temper of his " other" mistress; but Darnley, rash and sanguine, boasted, that when he had married Mary, they should have more influence in England than Elizabeth herfelf.

the had feared as a fevere preceptor, the difregarded, as well as her PART IX. other counsellors: the fond and languishing Chattelrault appeared Henry, King more disagreeable to her than ever, and she resolved at all risks to of Scotland, second husband please herself and disappoint Elizabeth, whom she found wanted of Q. Mary. to spin out the matter to a length too tedious for a passion so ardent as her's was to support; for this reason she sent to Rome for a dispensation; to France to procure the consent of that court, who, pleafed that Austria was disappointed, yielded it. Elizabeth was also applied to, but she still retained the mask she had worn from the beginning of the project, fecretly wishing, but openly condemning it *. She had endeavoured to win all those who had been in possession of the Lenox titles or estates, by procuring a surrender of them; but the Protestant nobility, at the head of whom were Murray and Chattelrault, would never comply with her wilhes; and Darnley's violence, and his father's impolicy, gave them too much reason to oppose the marriage: a conspiracy was raised to seize them, and deliver the parent and his son to the Queen of England; but it was defeated, and the culprits were obliged to take shelter in that kingdom whither they meant to lead Lenox and Darnley prisoners. Many of the nobility, at her request, signed their approbation of the alliance; and Rizzio, from the quarrel between him and Murray, did all he could to promote it: Darnley even employed him to make Mary more earnest to bring the negociation to a speedy termination, whose wishes equally led that way; yet she seemed to pay some attention to Elizabeth, by admitting Throgmorton, her ambassador, in 1565, to urge all his reasons against the marriage; but no sooner had he done that, than to convince him of their fallacy, she had the oath of knighthood tendered to Darnley, and admitted him into the order, and made him a banneret; created him Baron Armanagh, and he was belted

^{*} So fecure was Randolph that the Scots could not effect this marriage without Elizabeth's approbation, that in a letter to Cecil, dated March 20, 1565, he fays, that contrary to my fovereign's will, let them attempt, let them feek, or let them fend to all the Cardinals, or devils in hell, it shall pass their power to bring any thing to pass,"

of Q. Mary.

PART IX. Earl of Ross, doing homage to the Queen, without any reservation of allegiance to the crown of England; and he was permitted. Henry, King tion of allegiance to the crown of England; and he was permitted of Scotland, to dub fourteen gentlemen knights, five of whom were of his own furname. Such diftinguished honors might have been supposed fufficient to fatisfy the most fanguine; but being removed from the awful court of England to that of Scotland, he felt like a youth just escaped from a severe preceptor, knowing no bounds to his extravagant defires; therefore, fo far from being content, he threatened to stab Lord Ruthven, the messenger from the Queen, sent to acquaint him that she had deferred a few days raising him to the Dukedom of Albany; and this too at a time when Elizabeth, with infulting rudeness, was demanding him and his father, and Murray was accufing him of a conspiracy against his life. July 20 he was gratified with this high title; and upon the 28th, he was commanded by proclamation, to be addressed to and stiled King, which was exceeding not only prudence, but the laws of the kingdom; as the Parliament, though it had been fummoned, had not fat, and confequently could not authorize it. Upon the following day, between five and fix in the morning, this most beautiful Princess was conducted by the Earls of Lenox and Athol, attended by many of her nobles, to the chapel of Holyrood House, but dreffed, not as one who was to be led from the altar to the bridal bed, but as a forrowing widow; for the was habited in "the great mourning " gown of black, with the great mourning hood, not unlike unto " that which she wore the doleful day of the burial of her husband:" these peers returned, and in the same manner brought in the bridegroom, whilst John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, and Bishop of Brechin, attended by two priefts, waited to perform the ceremony. The banns were now asked a third time, and a notary fignified by an instrument, that no impediment had been alledged, when the marriage rites were celebrated according to the Romilh communion; it is fingular, that three rings were used, the middle one a rich diamond. After receiving the bleffing upon their knees, the King having faluted her, retired; but she remained there and heard mass, and then was conveyed to her chamber, where he

waited her arrival; here he and their courtiers united in requesting PART IX. The would no longer give herself up to cares unbesitting the occa-Henry, Kingfion, her youth, and royal estate; and after some seminine objections, each gentleman was permitted to come to her majesty, and of Q. Mary, draw out a pin, and then she was committed to the care of her ladies, and dressed in robes suitable to the solemnities of the day x; during the entertainments of which she was served by the Earl of Athol as sewer, the Earl of Morton as carver, and the Earl of Crawford performed the office of cup-bearer.

Henry was again, by found of trumpet, declared King, and affociated with Mary in the government; had a fuitable attendance appointed him; the Earls of Eglinton, Caffilis, and Glencairn were felected to officiate as his fewer, carver, and cup-bearer. Darnley, or more properly speaking, K. Henry, was at this time only nineteen years of age, and had been in Scotland only five months, so that he was ill qualified for that entire confidence her majesty placed in him, had his fense and experience greatly exceeded his age; but his whole conduct evinced how little deserving

* But " the Queen went not to bed, to fignify to the world, that it was not luft "that moved them to marry, but only the fecurity of her country, not, if God "" will, long to leave it deflitute of an heir; fuspicious men, or fuch as are given of " all things to make the worst, would that it should be believed that they knew each " other before that they came there: I would not that your Lordships should so be-" lieve it; the likelihoods are fo great to the contrary, that if it were possible to see " fuch an act done, I would not believe it." Mary's wearing her weeds, and affectation of chastity, was in compliance with monkish prejudices, then not done away, by which chastity was praised more than the first command of the God of nature: it cannot be denied that tradition fays, that Mary had been prevailed upon to take " shelter with Darnley under the yew tree," in the garden of Crickston castle, in Renfrewshire, the feat of the Lenox family; and Fame fays it was in grateful remembrance of the delicious moments she enjoyed there, that she struck so many coins with a device of a tree of that kind under a crown, and the motto DAT GLORIA VIRES, &c.; but this anticipation of the rites of Hymen is now difbelieved, She was married July 28, 1565; K. James VI. the only child of that union, was born June 12, 1566, almost eleven months afterwards.

PART IX.

in every respect he was of that preference the Queen had given Henry, King of Scotland, fecond hutband him with any particular mark of respect, except Charles IX. of France, who, in the following year, fent him the order of St. Michael, with which he was folemnly invested in the chapel of Holyrood House; but that court was soon convinced of his unworthiness; and when passion gave room to reason, Mary found that he was " proud, disdainful, suspicious, giddy, obstinate, insolent, " and mean;" his mind too weak to rectify his errors, yet his vanity led him to think nothing was fuperior to the depth of his judgment; these hurt her as a Queen, but she was more wounded as a woman; the lowest of her female subjects rivalled her in his embraces, and he brought the infection he had caught of them to her bed: horses, hawks, and dogs engaged his mind so much, that he could not join in those amusements that were congenial to her tafte, and such as ever must be the delight of ladies; he ceased to shine in the mask or the ball; his companions were chosen from the most debauched, and with them he spent his evenings in riot and inebriety. Presumption only, the presumption of his vile affociates, could make him not only ask, but demand, and that with infolent rudeness, the crown matrimonial; but instead of granting him that, Mary found she had given him too much already; however, the amused him, by saying the estates of the kingdom could only make it legal, and therefore they must be consulted. Unsatisfied with this, he united with the banished noblemen and discontented grandees, who flattered his prejudices, even derided the idea of the government of a woman, and they agreed, by circumscribing the Queen's power, to elevate his own, for which he was to obtain a restitution of their forseited honors and estates. The great impediment to the feasibility of their scheme was Rizzio, and him they agreed to make their first facrifice; which they effected with fuch circumstances of barbarity, that must have stamped them with infamy, even in an age when assassination was deemed fearcely criminal; the wretched victim fell beneath the dagger in the presence of insulted majesty; and dragging him thence, her ears were wounded with his dying groans, whilft PART IX. a pistol was held to her body; and she was threatened, if she cried Heary, King out, to be cut into pieces, and thrown out of the window. Ruthven, of Scotland, second husband just recovering from a dangerous sickness, clad in armour, the figure of of Q. Mary. the ghastly enemy of human nature, come in a bodily form to setch his destined prey, after assisting in the murder, rudely sat down in the royal presence, and called for wine *. What usage was this for a fovereign in her palace, in the midst of her capital, when seven months gone with child by the husband of her choice, whom she had raifed to a throne! Could it be supposed an high-spirited woman could forgive what the meekest would most forcibly have felt; what a comparison would she draw between him and Francis; between the French and the Scotch; between the adorers and detesters of beauty, elegance, and dignity! She, however, condefeended to court him, that she might obtain her escape, and she had fo much power over him, as to effect it; but having done this, the convinced him how cruelly he had wronged her; for withdrawing her attention, the courtiers deferted him, and he found himself a fingle individual. Her resentment probably at first was extremely violent; at length affection feems to have revived, and the wished only to humble, not to materially injure him; she liftened to overtures of reconciliation, and by the persuasion of the ambaffador extraordinary of France, they paffed two nights together, and going to Megatland, in Tweedale, to partake of the chace, with the Earls of Huntley, Murray, Bothwell, and other noblemen, they went to Edinburgh, and then took the road to Sterling; but felf importance, and an immoderate defire of power, overturned all the wishes of Mary and their common friends; for finding that he was not restored to all he had lost, he became retired and disobliging: he refused to go to the capital, but remained at Sterling, where he projected a plan to leave Scotland, and pass

^{*} Ruthven, and others of the confpirators, when at their deaths, fpoke of the flaying of David" as only a common occurrence, which needed no apology, much lefs contrition; even Knox and others, not guilty of it, mentioned it as meritorious; but in other countries it was viewed in its proper light.

PART IX. over to the Continent. She now was justly alarmed; his absenting Henry, King of Q. Mary.

himself would injure her, their son, and subjects; the Earl of of Scotland, fecond husband Lenox, weak as he was, joined her against him; she made condescensions to him equal to what a private woman could have done to a wayward and petulant husband. He would not enter the palace of Holyrood House Sept. 29, 1566, when he came to Edinburgh, until the Earls of Argyle, Murray, and Rothes, three of the four noblemen who were at that time with his Queen, had retired; complying, she went out of the palace, leaving her company to welcome him; and at length, with great difficulty, enticed him into her bedchamber, but he would remain only that night and the next morning with her; nor could fhe extort, by the kindest endearments, what had displeased him. The French envoy, Du Croc, with her privy council, in the morning again folicited him to mention his supposed grievances, and he was promised every satisfaction, even against the highest subjects of the kingdom, if they had injured him. Before this felect affembly, taking him kindly by the hand, she pressed it, and befought him to name wherein she had behaved otherwise than as an affectionate wife; he however withflood all this, though he owned that he could not lay any blame upon the Queen for what he had to complain of. Unable to bear the fituation he was in, turning to her majesty, he faid, " adieu, " madam, you shall not see me for a long time," and bowing to the French envoy, and to the Lords of the privy council, he retired; but after some days spent at Sterling, discovering that his conduct was as much condemned as Mary's was admired, he wrote to her, flightly fignifying, that his defign of leaving the kingdom was, because he was neither trusted nor properly honored by her; his attendants were taken away, and the nobility had withdrawn themselves: to which she replied, how much she had raised him, and how ill he had used such distinctions; hinting, that though the conspirators against Rizzio had accused him as the contriver of the plot, she had even treated him as if he had no concern in it; that the had offered him constantly the attendance of her own fervants; the nobility, she said, were at once the support of the crown, and

independent of it; she could not command, but he might win PART IX. their duty, which his stateliness had lost him; and if he could gain Henry, King it, the should do all in her power to promote his honor and hap-fecond husband piness: greater wisdom could not have been exerted to reclaim him, had he been poffeffed of the least judgment; but unhappily it made no impression upon him. Murray, and his wicked associates, continued to render him infignificant to all, and probably to exasperate him still more against the Queen; their malice was too successful, for whilst she lay struggling at Jedburgh between life and death with a fever, occasioned more by perturbation of mind than excess of bodily fatigue, he never once came, or even sent to enquire after her health, until the was recovering, when, Nov. 5, he arrived there; it was the more extraordinary, as both herfelf and those around her supposed she was going to her grave, into which it would have been an happiness to herself had she sunk. As the received him with distance, and that respect which his rank only deferved, difgusted, he again retired to Sterling, leaving her to pursue her progress through her dominions with her attendant nobles, whilst all Britain fought her good opinion, and seemed defirous of courting her smiles. At the baptism of his son, Dec. 17, his conduct was more prepofterous, if possible; residing at Sterling, where the ceremony was performed, he would not attend it, or any of the amusements that were made to honor it. Mary, the beautiful, neglected, insulted Mary, retired from her court, her noble vifitors, the representatives of her august relations, friends, and allies, to figh, weep, and deplore her ill fate, in being united to fo unfeeling a husband. Struck with his barbarity, Du Croc told him, that if he vifited him, as he had intimated he would, as there were two paffages to his chamber, if his majefty entered at one, he would retire by the other. December 27, leaving his chamber, where he principally secluded himself, in a temper of mind which mortified pride only knows, he took the road to Glafgow, without acquainting the Queen with his intentions, though the was then in the city, whither the had returned from excurtions to the feats of her nobles in that vicinity; at Glasgow, however, he

PART IX. Henry, King of Scotland, fecond hufband of Q. Mary.

found himself surprised with a dangerous disorder, the effects of poison, the impureness of his amours, or the small pox; his malady, whatever it was, became fo violent, that he feemed to ftand upon the brink of eternity: deferted of all, except the Queen whom he had abandoned, reflection called loud, and at length he liftened; he was foftened, his stubborn nature bent to reason, and he felt most fenfibly how much he had loft, and how greatly he had deferved it. Her Majesty had left Sterling, and was in Edinburgh when the news of his illness reached her; probably, pleased with so favorable an opportunity of convincing him of the continuance of that passion, which had been so vehement in its commencement, she left her capital, Jan. 24 or 25, to go and attend him, and nothing was omitted, power or the most tender attention could procure: she waited upon him with a fond folicitude, and looked forward, we may suppose, when the Hymeneal torch should burn again with as lively a flame as ever. He was fenfibly touched with the care of the Queen; his mind and body began to recover that tone they had loft; and she conducted him to Edinburgh, that she might the better unite the judgment of the most eminent of the faculty with her own personal care; but as the palace of Holyrood House was situated in a damp place, she ordered a house, called Kirkafield, to be made proper for his reception: it was a far more elevated fituation; it was distant from the city noise, and was sufficiently large to contain his fuite of attendants, having belonged to the superior of the monastery of St. Mary in the Fields, a name given it, upon the fame principles as St. George's in the Fields, near London. Whilft love and harmony, friendship and tenderness, were uniting to bless the royal pair, the enemies of their repose were busy in rendering it abortive; they were alarmed at the junction, fearing that they should be punished for the plots they had been carrying on: the fovereign power they supposed would be invincible, if the fceptre was fwayed jointly by them, and all their dark projects rendered nugatory; they determined therefore to prevent it by putting him to death; for they remembered that in the most bitter moments of his ill usage she refused a divorce from him, which they

had offered to procure, but which she had declined, fearing it might PART IX. reflect upon herfelf, or injure her fon, and leffen their claim upon Henry, King the crown of England. The chief conspirators in the nefarious (I Scotland, fecond husband wickedness were Murray, Morton, Bothwell, and Lethington; of Q. Mary. these having procured gunpowder to be conveyed into the cellars of the house, and prepared all things in readiness for his destruction, fixed upon the night of Sunday, the 10th of February, to accomplish it: as the Queen often flept there, though not with the King, the thought they also intended to have destroyed her; and it had more the appearance of reality, as the meant to have remained there during the whole night; but recollecting that one of her fervants had been married that day, and she had promised to give a mask * on that account, the left him with the most cordial affection, giving him a ring from her finger as a token of it. At half past two o'clock the whole city was in a consternation by a vast explosion; for the house, where she had left him, was in part blown into the air, and his body with that of one of his attendants was found in the garden: the King was naked, and his flippers near him. A very judicious author thinks the bodies were thrown in the manner they were found by the action of the gunpowder; but it is more natural to believe the generally-received report, that his majesty was taken from his bed down to a stable, where a napkin was forced into his mouth, which suffocated him, and then he was taken where he was found: the only objection to it is, why take that trouble when his destruction by the explosion would have been equally certain? but part of the house remained and some persons in it escaped with their lives; befides no external injury appeared, which, though possible, is not probable to have happened, had he been in his bed chamber when it was destroyed. It is agreed by all that Bothwell was present; and

^{*} Francis Sebastian de Villars, a native of Arvernois, in France, was much fafored by Q. Mary for his "cunning in music, his merry, and jesting;" having had an intrigue with Margaret Carwood, one of her majesty's gentlewomen, the effects of which becoming visible, he was obliged to marry her. The wedding was celebrated at Holyrood House, and in the evening upon which the King was killed, a masked ball, in the French stile, was given by the Queen,

Henry, King of Scotland, of Q. Mary.

PART IX. that the two Ormestons, T. Hepburn, and some others were, the wicked instruments employed in the murder. Had his death been natural of Scotland, fecond hufband it would have been an happiness to Scotland, and a bleffing to the Queen; but as it was it threw the former into anarchy and confufion, and involved Mary in ruin: for her enemies, the perpetrators of the murder, having cast the odium upon her, imprisoned her person, and tore from her head the diadem, which descended to her from a long line of ancestry. God, however, did not permit those who planned his violent death to descend to their graves in peace: Murray fell also by the hand of an affassin, Morton lost his head upon a fcaffold, Bothwell died in the utmost wretchedness after a ten-years tedious captivity in a dungeon, and Lethington, to prevent a public execution, fell by his own hand. Such was the end of the handsome, elegant, simple Henry, the father of the first monarch of Great Britain, and who, had he possessed common prudence, would have been the most fortunate man of the age he lived in; but his follies were great, and his crimes exceeded them; his murder of Rizzio, his ingratitude to the Queen of Scots, and his abandoned debaucheries, not even his age can excuse or scarcely palliate: his years were few, his crimes many and atrocious, and they were not balanced by a fingle virtue. The body of the King was taken, I prefume, upon the twelfth to Holyrood House, where the Queen viewed with filent forrow that form the had once so much: doted upon: it was then embalmed; and Mary again a widow retired to her castle of Edinburgh, there to lament her unhappy fate; and the gave way to all the luxury of woe, admitting few to the apartment in which she secluded herself; it was hung with black, and the rays of the fun were not permitted to cheer her; a taper: burning faintly added to the gloom: but by the directions of her physicians, who declared her life to be endangered by it, she removed to Seton, feven miles from Edinburgh. The council ordered his funeral to be celebrated in the manner the reformed buried their dead; this precluded Mary from making them public, but they were decently splendid; the justice clerk, Lord Traquair, and feveral other gentlemen attending, and the corpfe was deposited

in the fame vault in which King James V., his first Queen, and his PART IX. infant fon, had been laid. The King's body was found with theirs, Henry, King but the skull had been stolen before the year 1776, though his thigh second husband bones now, or till lately, were there, and "are proofs of the vaft," of Q. Mary. " ness of his stature, which has been said to have been seven feet." There is an engraved portrait of him taken from a painting in St. James' Palace; the print is stilled "Henry Lord Darnley (titular "King of Scotland) An. Do. 1563, æt. 17. Lucas de Heere p. G. "Vertue sc." Another engraved portrait is intitled "Henry Lord "Darnley, Duke of Albany, &c. fold by George Humble, 4to." The Earl of Lenox had painted feveral pictures relative to the miffortunes of him and Queen Mary, commiserating him, and reflecting upon her: one of these pieces is a cenotaph, before which is kneeling the Earl and Countess of Lenox, Charles their fon, and James VI. their grandson, with mottoes suitable to the idea, that the Queen had occasioned the death of the King her husband; it was painted by Levinus Venetianus, or Vogelarius, and is engraved upon a large sheet by G. Vertue. At Hampton-court, at Cassle-Braan. and Newbottle *, are also painted portraits of him; the second of these is a half length upon wood, inscribed "Henricus Stuardus, "Dominus Darnley, Æt. IX.MDLV.; it represents him as a pretty boy, dreffed in black, with a fword: the last gives him at full length, "tall, awkward, and gawky, with a stupid, insipid countenance; "most likely drawn after he had lost by intemperance and debauch " ery those charms which captivated the heart of the amorous " Mary." Henry's name was allowed to precede that of the Queen upon the Great Seal and the coins, but the afterwards placed hers first, and then intirely omitted it upon both: his effigies are placed upon a large piece of filver with hers; his arms, however, were never given with hers in any of the public emblazonments, and when he was invested with the order of St. Michael, as the parliament had not allowed him the crown matrimonial, she ordered that he should

^{*} Castle-Braan and Newbottle are the seats of Lord Fortrole, and the Marquis of Lethian,

part IX. only bear those of an Earl and Duke; and these arms appear impaled with hers upon her monument, and the engraving of his cenotaph.

James, Duke of Orkney, and Earl of Bothwell, third husband of Queen Mary.

J. Hepburn, descended from an ancient family, was the only son of Patrick, fourth Earl of Bothwell, by Agnes, daughter of Henry Lord Sinclair*: his estates were considerable, his retainers numerous, and he was of a bold and daring spirit. He made a conspicuous. figure in Scotland from his attaining the age of manhood. In 1559. he feized an opportunity of gaining the good opinion of the Queenregent, though he had early professed the tenets of the reformers; for as Cockburn was returning into Scotland from the court of England with 4000 crowns, which Elizabeth had fent for the ufeof the congregationists, he attacked his party, defeated them, wounded him, dispersed his men, and gained possession of the money. The regent had so much confidence in him, that she had appointed him a lieutenant of the marches, which gave him the. power of thus serving her, and injuring her enemies at the same time; and his refiding at home kept all that turbulent part of the kingdom in quietness, as well as prevented the congregationists receiving affiftance of men or money from England, whilst the Queen. carried on the fiege of Leith, in which she was assisted by Lords Seton and Borthwick only. Sanderson says that in the same year he fent to the Duke of Guise for more forces to assist the regent, who complied with his request, but unhappily they were shipwrecked. upon the coast of Holland. In 1561 he passed over into France, with many others of the nobility, to pay his duty to his widowed:

^{*} The Duke of Orkney had an only fifter named Joan, married to John, Prior of Coldingham, a natural fon of King James V.; and after his death to John, Earl of Caithness: by the former she had issue; Francis, her eldest son, was created Earl of Bothwell, and had great estates,

fovereign: his fidelity to the late Queen-dowager pleaded in his PART IX. behalf, and his enterprising spirit was so conspicuous, that it gave James Hephim peculiar marks of diffinction whilst there. He left that king burn, Duke of orkney, and dom previous to November 28, at which time he was elated to the Earl of Bothgreatest degree with the gracious reception he had met with; and husband of Queen Mary. his boldness was dreaded by the able Throgmorton, the wife minifter of Elizabeth at that court, who feared perhaps that his own Queen might be injured in her plan of fwaying Scotland by this. young nobleman; for the ambaffador uses these expressive words in a letter of his, "the Earl of Bothwell hath made that boast that " he will do great things, and live in Scotland in despite of all " men. He is a glorious, rash, and hazardous young man, and "therefore it were meet that his adversaries should have an eye to " him, and also keep him short." But however devoted to his royal miftress he might be, he could not be prevailed upon to depart from his protestant principles, or submit to conform to her majefty's will in the most slight and trifling matters relative to religion. The year following, as both he and the Earl of Arran were in waiting at the same time upon their sovereign, the mutual injuries they and their claus had done to each other, in the late disturbances, occasioned frequent quarrels in the streets, and great danger was apprehended in the city; but happily it was prevented by the mediation of Knox, who made them friends; fome days after Lord Arran confessed to Knox, and afterwards to Murray, that Bothwell and he, with the Hamiltons, had entered into a confederacy to put him and the other favorite ministers to death, that they might obtain the helm #: but as Arran was much deranged in his mental faculties, many have supposed that this was only an ideal conspiracy; however he was confined, yet separately from the others who were accused. The vengeance Murray immediately after pursued against the Earl of Huntley, and the whole family of Gordon, perhaps faved him from destruction. Whilst the Queen was in the north,

^{*} Keith fays Bothwell was also accused of including the Queen in the proscription, but it is not even probable.

PART IX. James Hep-Orkney, and Earl of Bothwell, third hufband of Queen Mary.

about Aug. 13, he made his escape from the castle of Edinburgh. letting himself down from a window with tow; getting into a vefburn, Duke of fel he failed with an intention to escape into France, but was driven upon the English coast. Randolph, April 10, 1563, fays to Elizabeth, " The Queen knoweth now that the Earl Bothwell is fent " for to London; I know that she thinketh much, that he is not " fent into Scotland: it is yet greatly doubted, that if he were "there, he would be referved for an evil instrument: there comes " a vulture in this realm if ever that man come again into credit." By this it is evident that Mary resented Elizabeth's not delivering him up to her, though the rather wished to oppose him against Murray than facrifice him to her brother's vengeance; and that Randolph knew him a man capable of any crime to promote his ambition. Tired of his exile, in 1564-5, he fent Murray, of Tillibarden, from France, to ask either the permission of returning, or means to live there; but as he was charged with having spoken dishonorably of her majefty, as well as conspired against her ministers, the objected to his recal, except as a criminal, and, as fuch, fummoned him to come and abide a trial; and if he declined it she proclaimed him a rebel. Finding himself under the necessity of flarving upon the continent and being declared a rebel, or fubmit to the laws of his country, he obeyed the Queen's commands: May 3 was appointed for his trial, but as Argyle, the hereditary judge, and Murray, who anxiously wished to have him condemned, and was profecutor, came with an army of 500 horsemen, their retainers, he durst not surrender himself, as it would have been certain destruction: though condemned for non-appearance, the Queen would not fuffer the justices' clerk to profecute the fentence of outlawry against him, as it would have been a scandal to her government, these, his enemies, being his judge and accuser, and who must have had power to condemn and execute him whether innocent or guilty; yet she did not pardon, but obliged him again to go from whence he came, shewing no partiality to him or his enemies, by letting either of them triumph over those laws of her country which she was unable to enforce. By his courage and liberality he had

rendered himself the darling of the commonalty; under him they PART IX. had fought and been victorious, of course they lamented his banish- James Hepment: Mary did not view him in fo favorable a light; he had car-burn, Duke of Orkney, and ried on fome plots against her, in concert with Lord Seton, so that Earl of Both-well, third the fuffered him again to leave her dominions, and probably he would husband of Queen Mary. have remained there for many years, had not a total change taken place in Mary's fentiments, effected by her paffion for Lord Darnley; for as Murray, her natural brother, professed the greatest repugnance to the alliance, from his exceffive, even personal, hatred to that young prince, she determined to recal this Earl and Lord Sutherland to balance their power against Murray's, whom they had great reason to dislike; so that his having permission to return into Scotland was intirely political, only to effect the marriage she was earneftly bent to have confuminated between her and Darnley, her relation. However he did not arrive till after their union, landing at Coldingham, in a veffel, called a Pink, and was admitted into the presence of his sovereign and her illustrious husband, both of whom received him with great favor, and appointed him Lieutenant-Genoral of the borders; and October 10 following he was admitted into the Privy Council: about this time the Queen was leading an army, then at Dumfriers, against the confederated nobles, the Duke of Chatellerault, and the Earls of Argyle, Murray, and Rothes; " the main battle" was to have been commanded by the King in person, whilst Morton, he, and others attended him; but the rebel peers feeing the royal cause so well supported, durst not keep the field, fo that the Queen was victorious without a battle; and though he was employed by her majesty, yet he was not confidentially trusted, for he was too uncomplying to rise high in her estimation, as he fo strongly opposed the public celebration of divine service, according to the liturgy of her church, and which she had so much fet her heart upon; and when some had even complied with the Queen's wishes in professing the religion of Rome, he distinguished himself above all the court in refusing to assist in carrying candles in procession upon Candlemas day, 1565-6; this was extremely refented, as many of the Protestants agreed to indulge their sovereign

PART IX. in it: fo that, as he was "the stoutest, so he was the worst thought James Hep-Orkney, and Earl of Bothwell, third husband of Oueen Mary.

" of," by Mary, of all her court; this raifed his popularity still barn, Duke of higher with the reformers, who had the greatest opinion of him; and even the feditious Knox, alike virulent against the Queen and her religion, thought fo well of him that, whilft he had been an exile in France, he corresponded with him. It is evident therefore that Bothwell was not perfonally a favorite of Queen Mary, but, on the contrary, no favorite at all: fhe found him necessary to protect her in the possession of an husband, the object of her tenderest affection, and to shield her from the vindictive violence of her wicked brother; for this reason she diffembled much of her sentiments, knowing the importance his power was of to her, especially as he allied himself to the Earl of Huntly, whose family Murray had fo cruelly profcribed: to honor this alliance the marriage was celebrated Feb. 22, with great state; King Henry and Queen Mary attended, and gave the banquet upon the first of the five days the rejoicings continued: justs and tournaments were held, and fix gentlemen of Fife were knighted during the folemnity; and a few days afterwards these Earls had a ratification from the parliament of the restitution of their estates. When Queen Elizabeth had named the Earl of Bedford to be her commissioner at a treaty for securing a permanent peace between the two fifter kingdoms, he and the Laird of Cesford were nominated for Scotland. Randolph, the English ambassador, represented that he was a very exceptionable person, and therefore his mistress requested her majesty would appoint some other: but she stopped his entreaties, by faying she "hated Bedford as much as Elizabeth did Bothwell," making him therefore the instrument of her revenge to Elizabeth for sending an English nobleman as her representative, whom she had so marked a diflike to. He was at court when the tragedy of Rizzio was acted, upon March 9; refenting the infult offered to Majesty, in a manner the most spirited, it won much upon the Queen's favor: no fooner was he informed of the cause of the disturbance, and that the Queen was a prisoner, than he, with the Earls of Huntley, Athol, Caithness, and Sutherland, the Lords Fleming, Levingston,

and others, with their attendants, hasted down into the courts of PART IX. the palace, and attacked Morton and the rest of the conspirators, James Hep-and were quieted by the declaration of Ruthven, who came and Orkney, and affured them, that the parliament was prorogued; that the bloody Earlo's Both-well, third deed had been done with the approbation of the King, and that husband of Murray and the other exiled nobles were making all possible speed to join them; advising these lords to unite with them, and drop all animofities; exhorting Bothwell to embrace Murray, and Huntley to be reconciled to Argyle: he, and the other loyalists, diffembling, were not treated with harshness: Athol carried his hypocrify so far as to upbraid the affaffins for not admitting him into their number, and asked leave to retire until the public tranquility was settled; his request was agreed to by Ruthven, who then left them, but Bothwell was detained a prisoner. Her majesty having won over the King to make their escape from the palace, the royal pair communicated their intentions to him and Huntley, his brother-in-law; and effecting their defign, with only three persons to attend them, they fled to Dunbar, whither Bothwell, accompanied with vaft number of his vassals who slocked to the standard of their chief, came, and offered his affistance to the Queen against all her enemies. His power and popularity in that part of the kingdom was extreme, so that the conspirators, finding her forces hourly increase. retired into England, whilst her majesty returned through Haddington to Edinburgh, where eighty of the difaffected citizens, who had taken possession of the palace court after Rizzio's murder, were arraigned; only two of whom, and those the most obnoxious, wereexecuted, owing to his having interested for, and obtained the pardon of some of the others, when they were at the foot of the gallows. However high he might stand in the good opinion of his fovereign at this time, yet he had reason to dread the admission of Murray and some others of his enemies at court, who had received the royal pardon, that they might strengthen her so much as to bring the infamous affaffins to justice, not even supposing that her brother was, whilst absent, one of the great instigators of that inhuman action: to effect what she so earnestly desired, she invited

PART IX.

James Hepburn, Duke of
Orkney, and
Lail of Bothwell, third
hufband of
Queen Mary.

all the contending chiefs that were about her person to a sumptuous entertainment, when making herself the arbitratress of their quarrels, she prevailed upon thm to promife that a total oblivion should take place of all the subjects of complaint between Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, and Huntley; Athol and Bothwell; and for his farther fecurity, Maitland, who had been accused by some of his retainers of a defign to poison him, to prevent a worse fate, petitioned for leave to go to Flanders. Now constantly about the perfon of the Queen, and in full possession of her confidence, he studied how he might render himself pleasing to her majesty, by the most obsequious attentions, and he had qualifications for doing this that few of the other noblemen could pretend do; he restored to her many of those diffipations which had so greatly pleased her at Paris. The condescentions of fovereigns is so fascinating, that few are able to bear their good fortune with a decent moderation; the ill conduct of the King, and her liftening to the gay pleasures he was conftantly inventing to oblige her, made him refign himfelf up to the most pleasing dreams of grandeur; and though both their marriages must be broke through previous to the accomplishing his aim, yet ambition fees no bar to stop her career. It cannot be doubted, but that his first project was to obtain the Queen's confent to a divorce, and then to gain one for himself, a practice in those times common; but when he found her majesty, in a conference she held with her nobles, absolutely declined any separation of that kind from the King, her husband, he determined to effect that part of his scheme by other, and more desperate projects. I cannot do better than give from Dr. Stuart the situation he was then in with respect to his sovereign, and his general character: "What " chiefly endeared him to Mary was the support he had afforded " her against the murderers of David Rizzio; it was by his means. " in a great measure, that she was enabled to recover her import-" ance, and to chase them out of the kingdom. Her gratitude " to him was excessive; and he improved the favorable impressions " he had made with increasing courtefy and attention. By her " favor he rose to exercise all the power of government; and to

" this distinction he was little entitled, either by his abilities or PART IX. "his virtues: he was infensible to glory", unsusceptible of pa- James Hep-"triotism, and unpracticed in business; a boundless love of power, burn, Duke of orkney, and a fearless corruption, and a riotous prodigality were his charac-Earlo Bothwell, third "teriftics. In public and in private life he was equally unprinci-hufband of Queen Mary. " led; his natural dispositions led him into improper courses, and " habitude fortified him in them. He could scheme the most cri-" minal enterprizes, and was desperate enough to put them in execution. He sported with religion, honor, and probity. In " prosperity he was insolent, in misfortune fawning. A polished " exterior rendered his vices more dangerous. He was in the of prime and vigor of life, and his person and behavior were at-" tracting. A passion for pleasure involved him in intrigues and "gallantry. A taste for trisles, elegance of address, and softness " of manners, so alluring to women of every condition, height-" ened the complaifance with which they naturally furvey the imof perfections of the voluptuous. But while he was prone to every " folly, and to every crime, and was anxious to perpetuate his " diffinctions and enjoyments, his eager and narrow policy did not of permit him to fee into consequences and futurity. To establish " himself in greatness he was ready to perpetrate whatever is most "flagitious, and could think, without emotion, of treachery, " poison, and the dagger; but he was incapable to secure the ad-" vantages and profit of his wickedness. The Earl of Murray, " whom he wished to employ, as a ladder, to advance him to "grandeur, penetrating into his character, availed himself of it, " and he was utterly overthrown by a man whose ambition was not " less extravagant, but whose abilities, dissimilation, and refine-" ment were more transcendant and profound." The times were martial; Mary, though excelling in all the luxurious delicacy of her fex when in the drawing room, affected in the field the prowefs of her ancestors, the Kings of Scotland. Bothwell must have

^{*} Bothwell, I think, cannot be faid to have been intenfible to glory; the fubfequent part of his history, as well as the preceding, evince to the contrary.

Orkney, and Earl of Bothwell, third hulband of Queen Mary.

PART IX. shone in these respects; more delicate and refined in his manners. yet none could equal him in the most hardy amusements, or rash burn, Duke of valor in the field of battle; whilst tilts and tournaments were held, he rode with vast speed down Calton Hill, near Edinburgh, and broke into the ring, from the dangerous steeps into the deep and wide hollow at the bottom of it, where these solemnities were held. This risk of his neck equally surprized and pleased his royal mistress; such feats of chivalry were not unknown in France, for the Duc de Nemours galloped down the steps of the Sainte Chappel at Paris, to the aftonishment of all. More serious, but not less hazardous, enterprizes foon engaged his attention; the Earl of Morton still continued in England, exciting commotions upon the borders of his own country; it was necessary therefore to repress his infolence. As Lord Lieutenant of the Marches it was his post of honor to defend that part of the kingdom; he was accordingly fent thither to command the loyal subjects, and in a few days Mary went to Jedburgh, to hold the justice courts for the trial of traitors and other diforderly persons; she was attended thither by the Earls of Murray, Huntley, Athol, Rothes, and Caithness; the Lords Levingston, Arbroth, Seton, Yester, Borthwick, and Somerville, with many other freeholders and gentlemen. Whilst here, Bothwell was doing all he could to bring the borders into perfect order and quietness; the Elliots were peculiarly troublesome; their depredations were the more obnoxious to government, as they, the Laird of Cesford, Warden of the middle Marches, Buccleugh, one of the most powerful Barons in those parts, and the Lords Maxwell and Hume, were in league with the English and Morton; he refolved therefore to bring them to submission; but in a skirmish he had with them in Liddesdale, he had the missortune to be wounded in feveral parts of the body, though only flightly, yet it obliged him to be conveyed by his attendants to his castle of Hermitage. The Queen hearing of this, fet off from Jedburgh in October, and honored him with a vifit, though it was eighteen Scotch miles, and the weather inclement; but she prided herself upon acting the part of a fair amazonian, despising every danger

from climate, mountains, or moraffes. So great an attention must PART IX. have gratified that vanity, which was one of his most ruling pal James Hepfions; but Mary acted politically in her attention to a great and Orkney, and loyal peer, as it must have encouraged others to be produgal of we i, third their blood in the service of so grateful a sovereign; besides, she Queen Mary. burn, Duke of thought him then the most devoted to her service, from a dutiful regard to her person, of any of her nobility; and as the infurgents against whom he had been sent, hating him for his insolence, had vowed that they would live and die with Cesford, but withftand him, declaring they would not yield to any other than the Queen in person, it became absolutely necessary to shew herself there, and to give him instructions in what manner he should purfue the object for which he was fent; and then having, we may suppose, taken some refreshment, staying with him a few hours. the returned to Jedburgh. This vifit has been looked upon by the enemies of Mary as the consequence of a criminal passion for him; but there is no reason whatever to believe such, for when she felt that regard for Darnley, which was fo ardent, she watched him during an illness with a fond solicitude that was almost incompatible with the dignity of an unmarried Queen; besides, too, both she and Elizabeth, her fifter fovereign, used constantly to pay visits to their nobility, and fometimes those of condolence, without an idea of indelicacy: the shortness of her stay, the dignity and number of persons in her suite, all forbid the thought of any thing imprudent in her conduct; on the contrary, she deferved the highest commendation, though the fatigue of the journey, and oppression of spirit for the ill behavior she experienced from the King, caused her to have an illness that was so very severe, that it long threatened her life; which had been an happiness had it terminated then, for the remainder of her days were a continual and never-ceasing forrow. Bothwell faw that the King's ill conduct would lead to fome momentous conclusion; the foothing tenderness of Mary, which at times the used to "lure the tassel gentle back again," was as vain as the able remonstrances of the French ambassador; the more reluctant Henry was to return to the arms of the Queen, the more

PART IX. James Hep-Orkney, and Earl of Bothwell, third hufband of Oueen Mary.

the stood in need of the services, the attentions of her courtiers; and he was in fuch estimation with her, that had she listened to the burn, Duke of voice of her ministers at Craigniller to obtain a divorce, and he had been unmarried, there is little doubt but she would have given her hand to him in preference to any other of her subjects: but her interest, united with duty, with returning love, forbade her to think of any feparation; her whole behavior evinces how highly fhe prized Bothwell as a fervant ever after Rizzio's death. Vehement in her passions, and incautious and undisguised, she laid herself open to her politic enemies, who defignedly construed all her free Gallican manners towards her servants as acts of a criminal levity; and perhaps gave a prefumption to fome that otherwise would never have dared to think of her, but as one fo exalted as to preclude all possibility of obtaining her. Bothwell was the foremost to hope; and to strengthen his plan, he prevailed upon Mary to pardon Morton, and his affociates in Rizzio's death, though the had refused all applications from any one else; this was laying all those of his party, as well as himfelf, under fo vaft an obligation, that he supposed they would have been devoted to him; his ascendancy in all the councils was prodigious, and he even bent to Mary's anxious wishes of having the public exercise of her religion, by giving a toleration to all her Roman Catholic subjects.

> The Queen feemed now in the full poffession of all her royal prerogatives, and the feveral parties, each of whom had been deficient in their duty to her, and disobedient to the laws of their country, had all in their turn been brought to submission, and pardoned; but their submission was as infincere as the mutual regard they professed for each other; the permanent union of Henry and Mary would so have strengthened the royal cause, that they could not hope to escape any farther disturbances that their unquietness might raife; that aversion each harbored against the other, and their equal strength, kept them from coming to an open violence; they despifed the King, they feared the Queen, and all united in hating her most considential minister, Bothwell, who, in his turn, lost all

the little prudence nature had bestowed upon him, in giving up to PART IX. the wild chimera of uniring himself to his fovereign; and these James Hepexecrable characters, when they faw returning love come to blefs ourn, Duke of her and her subjects, in defiance of every thing that can be facred farl of Bothwell, third amongst men, entered into a conspiracy against the life of the husband of young inexperienced King, at the moment when he had given the least hopes of ever possessing honor or prudence. Bothwell, it was agreed, should marry the Queen as soon as he was taken off; but Murray and Morton had a deeper scheme; they made him the oftenfible inftrument of this unparalleled villainy, and then defigned to accuse the Queen as participating with him in it; so that they should rid themselves of all those characters which stood between them and the absolute government of the kingdom, whilst they would have all the advantage they could wish for, by being thought the avenger of the unhappy King, and the true friends of the This scheme was so deeply laid, and by men so artful kingdom. and crafty, that it was carried into effect; many joined either to ruin him and the Queen, and to build their fortunes upon their fall, or hoped to share their confidence when done. Henry therefore fell, and Bothwell, though his murderer, was still received openly at court, though he was accused by the people, and at last by the Earl of Lenox, the forrowing father; but fo many were accessary, approvers, or persons fearful of stepping forth, that he ventured to abide an open trial, but furrounded with a numerous train of vaffals, with a confiderable body of hired foldiers; few chose to be principals in bringing so powerful a subject to justice; the Queen wholly absorbed in grief and consternation, her minifters equally guilty, found it their interest to prevent his condemnation, lest they also should have been included in his sentence; and the profecutor, Lenox, intimidated by the power of his adverfary, did not appear at his trial, which the ministers took care should be informal, by flaws in the indictment; he therefore was acquitted, April 12, 1567, by his Judges, perfons of the highest rank, and of as great integrity as any in the kingdom; Lenox in vain protesting against the hastiness of a trial he had urged, blaming

hulband of Queen Mary.

PART IX. a want of expedition, and reprobating the idea of a culprit of fuch enormity being at large. In England the plea would have been James Hep. enormity being at larger burn, Duke of just; but in Scotland a greater degree of latitude was given to per-Orkney, and July, out in coordinate Barl of Both- fons who were accused, and there too crimes were held in less abhorrence than in most other countries, owing to the want of energy in the fovereign power to put the laws in execution; nor did the unhappy parent suppose that the four affesfors to the chief justicier " were the warm and strenuous friends to the Earl of Murray," equally guilty in planning the murder; and that Morton, who stood by Bothwell, was another of the regicides of his fon. Whatever infamy may fall upon the ministers, Mary's conduct in this shameful perversion of justice is free from blame; but had she acted with that promptitude which the occasion required, instead of finking into all the wretchedness of unavailing woe, she had displayed the abandoned wickedness of all those nearest her throne, and by their punishment freed herself from false and perfidious friends, and from fecret enemies that nothing could fatisfy, but involving her in a ruin as decided as that of her late hufband. Lenox loudly complained of what he ought to have foreseen would have been the effect of his precipitancy and indecifiveness; as to the people, they having feen Henry stripped of every elegant ornament in dress, every comfortable accommodation of a person of rank, whilft Bothwell outvied all in the splendor of his equipage, were not greatly surprised that he was acquitted of the murder of one who had been fo little valued; all the nice parts of the transaction were hid from their view; they were well convinced of his guilt, but they could not judge of the etiquette of their courts of law; they did not suspect his equally guilty affociates; a fatisfaction had not been made to the manes of the dead, which justice demanded; they, as is usual in such cases, supposed there must have been some most obvious reason for skreening the person they alone judged his murderer: and the subsequent transactions, from the bold villainy of Bothwell, the incaution of Mary, and the infamous duplicity of Murray, Morton, and Lethington, established the opinion of the Queen's collusion with Bothwell.

. This infamous culprit escaping thus, was emboldened to conti- PART IX. nue about the person of his sovereign, and the Parliament, by the James Hepprocurement of the conspirators, solemnly adjudged his acquittal burn, Dake of Orkney, and just; the discerning, however, were no better satisfied with his kell of Bothwell, thad innocence by this, than they had been by his trial, or his challenging hufband of to fingle combat any who dared to accuse him; yet the Parhament, regardless of all decency, ratified to him the office of keeper of the castle of Dunbar, with the estates depending upon it: many of the Peers, with Murray and Morton, experienced the royal favors. The public mind, still disfatisfied, did not cease from accufing him; his features appeared in placarts, fluck up in the fireets; and Mary was also stigmatized: the Parliament in vain denounced the most exemplary punishment against traitors and villifiers of the characters of the nobles and princes of the land.

Secure in the confidence of his wicked colleagues, he proceeded with his plan; he invited the first characters in the kingdom, April 19, 1567, generally called the "Ainflie fupper;" wine circulated very fast, the company were put in good humour, and he took that opportunity of producing a bond, recommending himfelf as a proper husband for the Queen, with a promise or engagement annexed, that they who figned it would protect him in the completion of his withes against all manner of people: this was probably done as if Mary had confented to what the appears to have known nothing of; the guests, instead of taking the alarm. acceded with readiness to the proposition, and the following day fubscribed it; at the head of them was Murray, and his example was followed by eight of her spiritual, and many of her temporal, peers, befides great commoners; no expressions were wanting to fet forth his merit to the much-injured Queen; none to exculpate him from every fuspicion of the murder of the King, and promising him to enforce the union with all their powers, and at the risk of their lives and fortunes. No language could be used more to impole upon Mary, if the would comply with their warmest wishes;

PART IX.

James Hepburn, Duke of
Orkney, and
Earl of Botnwell, third
hufband of
Queen Mary.

and this they did as they should answer to God, promising the utmost fidelity to her and her government, solemnly declaring, that if they did not perform their engagements, that they would be content to enjoy for the future no reputation or credit, and to be holden as most unworthy and faithless traitors.

So far was Mary from even being privy to this transaction, that the appears not to have known it, until both Scotland and England were alarmed at the infamous defign; and therefore, when upbraided with the intention of giving her hand to him, fhe appeared furprifed and displeased, protesting that she had no such intentions. The time was not ripe for his nefarious intentions to be effected, but which he put in practice when the Parliament was diffolved, and her majesty was removing to Sterling, to visit the Prince, her son, and whom it was very probable she wished to have the care of, as a fecurity for her person. To strengthen her own feeble authority, levied a thousand horse, as if to keep the borders in quietness, as his duty obliged him to do; but he made these men the instruments to effect a very different project; for with them, April 24, 1567, he surprised the defenceless Mary in her return to her capital, sent away her attendants, and conducted her to his castle of Dunbar; fuch an outrage from a subject, and one who had distinguished himfelf for his oblequiousness, called forth all the indignant rage that infulted majesty could feel; humble, yet firm, he let her vent all the passions she was moved with, and then offered in excuse unbounded regard, fuch as involuntarily pervades the human breaft, and which in him had been so great, that it forced him to break through every tie that duty held facred; he then also pleaded the political necessity for their union, urging the bond, which he produced, as flewing her the opinion of her greatest and many of her most loyal subjects. She was resolved to withstand the stratagems faid for her; but he, finding that certain destruction awaited him if she did not comply, from intreaties turned to threats, declaring he would marry her, whatever opposition he should meet with from

her or any other; her resolution drove him to desperation, for, PARTIX. unmindful of horror, he added one fin more to the murder he had fames Hopperpetrated, in destroying the King, by ravishing his widow; bit-burn, Duke of Orkniy, and ter must have been the reproaches of the dishonored Queen, to Earl of Both-well, third make him attempt to put an end to his miferable existence; how-husband of ever, though the wound was fevere, it was not fatal, and with returning strength he regained his intrepidity in wickedness. He had induced those who signed the bond to think the Queen was by no means diffatisfied with his pretentions, and had told Melvil, and those whom he had fent away when he had seized her majesty, that the was acquainted with and agreeable to his defign: fo that her fubjects, lost in astonishment, looked on with filent indignation, and left her to what they judged an infatuation that nothing could excuse, whilst the traitors who had planned this scheme were secretly rejoicing at the fuccess of their deep-laid villainy.

Taking advantage of the confounded bewildered Queen, who had no one's advice to rely upon, and unable now to exert that fortitude she had esteemed in her father, and had attempted to copy, he prevailed upon her to agree to what the weakly supposed would restore her to liberty, and as the only means of freeing her reputation from the dishonor he had put upon her, or rather extorted, her consent to their marriage. The first step to effect this, was to procure a divorce from his Countess, Lady Jane Gordon, whose marriage the Queen had graced with her presence only fix months before; the plea to obtain it was confanguinity, and without any dispensation, and adultery on his part, he therefore urged the former in the court of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's; and his wife, by the persuasion of the Earl of Huntley, her brother, instituted a fuit against him in the court of commisfaries, accusing him of criminality with one of her attendants; no opposition being made, the courts passed the sentence of divorce.

PART IX.
James Hepburn, Duke of Orkney, and Earl of Bothwell, third hufband of Queen Mary.

For twelve days he detained the ill-fated Mary, and then led her to Edinburgh; but as guilt is ever cowardly, he durst not take her to the palace of Holyrood House, but remained with her in the calle; he even held her horse by the bridle as he conveyed her thither: but as just exceptions would be taken to their union if the was supposed under restraint, he produced her in the court of fession, in the presence of the chancellor, the president, judges, and many other persons of rank; here she expressed her uneasines that her detention had impeded the administration of justice, and then told those present that she had been greatly displeased at the indecent violence she had suffered; but from the respectful attention she had fince received from him, she meant to pardon both him and those who had affisted in her disgrace, especially as his former fervices had been extremely meritorious; concluding, that the was now at full liberty, and as a mark of her particular regard, she would honor him with still higher titles than he at present posfeffed. What a scene was this! How funk was Mary, the sovereign of Scotland, who had once partook of the throne of France! Her warmest partizans must blush for her; death, or what had been worse, perpetual imprisonment, had been far, far preferable. Had she turned her indignation at this moment against her ravisher, vengeance might have almost instantly overtook him; and her contemporaries, as well as posterity, would have been unanimous in praifing, in applauding her. She was no longer the high-spirited Mary; she felt her dishonor, and it debased her mind. Princes of royal, of imperial descent could no more solicit that hand which all had strove to gain, and she sunk under the greatness of her calamities, and deigned to feek protection from the most depraved of her own subjects.

In May he obtained a grant of the earldom of Orkney, and the lordship of Schetland; the former was erected into a dukedom, and all the royalties they contained were conveyed to him, so that he had a most valuable addition, both to his dignity and possessing.

and probably he chose these islands, that he might, if in danger PART IX. from the constant revolutions Scotland was agitated with, retire to lames Herethem, and fortify himself, so as to withstand the most powerful burn, Duke of Orkney, and confederacy against him. There remained nothing now but to ob. Earl of Bothtain the hand of his fovereign; it was then ufual to ask all persons husband of by bans previous to marriage; the Protestant divines unwillingly - confented, but Mr. John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who was pitched upon to do it, had the honesty to declare his repugnance, and to avow the wickedness of the intended union, as there had been a separation from adultery, and this too by the collufion of the parties. Think what painful fenfations this must occasion, as it was openly said before a numerous and most splendid congregation! He had even the courage to vindicate his conduct: when called upon by the privy council. This most disgraceful marriage was performed the 15th of that month, when O. Mary was twenty-five years of age, and only three months after the violent death of the King; the celebration of it was in the great hall in Holyrood House, where the council used to sit, and not in the chapel, where her former marriage had taken place; the ceremony was performed according to the Roman Catholic manner, and also in the reformed way; the former most privately, but the latter, to gain popularity, publicly, and Adam Bothwell, his brother, who had renounced the errors of the Romish church, and been made Bishop of Orkney, was the person employed upon the occasion, and the submitted also to hear a Protestant sermon, that it might the more recommend her to the people; and indeed every art was necessary to make it palatable. Scotland, England, and France were alike furprifed and displeased; she injured herself in the eyes of all her friends, and her enemies made it a plea to publicly accuse her of K. Henry's murder. Fatal prognoftications were in the gloominess of the few who had attended the marriage; the absence of most of the grandees and of the French ambassador, who could not prevail upon themselves to honor it with their presence, and by the fullen difgust of the people; a settled cloud hung over the fate

PARTIX. James Hep-Orkney, and Earl of Bothwell, third hufband of Queen Mary.

of the difgraced, fallen Mary, and she felt it in all its keenness. It is wonderful how she could prevail upon herself to be united to burn, Duke of so unprincipled a profligate, or indeed to affociate with such a character, whose mouth was defiled with the most obscene language, who gloried in the most criminal excesses, and who had been so openly accused of the murder of the King, her husband. Had the resolutely withstood his threats when he had committed a violence upon her person, and called upon her nobles to bring the daring culprit to justice, she had vindicated her honor in such a way, that it would have filenced calumny, and all Europe would have looked upon her as the most injured of Princesses; her loyal fubjects would have beheld her with the tenderest compassion, and the wickedness planned against her had most probably been detected, and the unprincipled junto who had laid it had been brought to that punishment their crimes so justly deserved; and so far would this have been from preventing her marrying again to fome illustrious personage, that it would have been the only means that could have fecured her an advantageous alliance; we must. however, make many allowances for her fituation; feemingly deferted by her subjects, in the power of a daring profligate, and unknowing but she might bring into the world a child that must be deemed illegitimate, and thus proclaim a violence that the modesty of her sex would make her wish to hide from the public eye.

> The nuptials effected, the new-married couple endeavoured to obtain a bond of confederation to support and protect them; it was coldly received, and foon after the nobility united, not to fupport, but to bring him to condign punishment; he was almost without an adherent. Mary foon felt the fad effects of her misconduct, for the had neither honor nor domestic peace in the alliance; the nation deemed themselves insulted by such a monster possessing their fovereign; and instead of his treating her with the endearments of a fond husband, he often broke out into the most insult-

ing behavior, which overwhelmed her with the most lively grief: PART IX. this, with the other indignities the fuffered, made her health de- James Hepcline, and the often had violent bursts of passions and tears; and tun, Duke of Orkney, and once she called for a knife to put a period to an existence he had kell, third rendered truly wretched. Bothwell's fituation proved to him how hufband of Queen Mary. fallacious the most flattering schemes become, when their foundations are laid in artful wickedness; for though by his means the fplendor of the court was dazzling, yet he found it impracticable to break in upon the restrictions Mary had stipulated for; that he should not have any power to act, or have any appointment, unless the acceded to it; nor could be obtain the custody of the Prince, whose fate certainly would have depended upon his interest, either to fave or destroy him. His conduct was so infamous, that Britain and France dreaded the safety of the infant; and the odium with which he was branded fell in some measure upon the Queen, especially, as both at home and abroad Murray and his affociates artfully infinuated that the crimes of Bothwell were also those of the Queen; by these means so great a storm was raised, that inevitable ruin feemed the certain consequence. The affociated nobles flew to arms, the royal proclamations were treated with contempt; fearful of a surprizal in the capital, as he was conscious that Sir James Balfour, deputy governor, had been gained over by their enemies, he fled with the Queen to the caftle of Bothwell, whither they were purfued by Lord Hume; however, they were fortunate enough to escape from thence to Dunbar. Whilst here the plainest avowals were made, by proclamations published by the confederates, of his guilt, and of what it was suspected he designed farther to do: ever rash and precipitate, he collected an army, and placed the Queen at the head of it, though his interest was to have remained where he was, and where he could have defied all the powers of the difaffected nobles; and their followers, ever willing and anxious to return, would have broke up, and then he might have brought Mary back to the capital with case: but in attempting to do it, by opposing an army to theirs, he discovered his mistake when

James Hepburn, Duke of Orkney, and Earl of Bothwell, third hufband of Queen Mary.

PART IX. too late, for coming to Carberry Hill, June 15, 1567, he found that his forces were inferior to the enemy, both in number and energy. He was confcious of this, and to parry it, according to the romantic custom of the age, he challenged to fingle combat any who should accuse him of taking away the life of K. Henry; but when both the gallant Kircaldy and Murray were willing to accept the challenge, he meanly declined it, under pretence that neither of them were noblemen. Lord Lindfay, with impatience, expressed a desire to engage him, and when no objection could be taken to his Lordship, Mary expressly commanded them to defist; the royal troops flunk away, ashamed of their general, and the French ambaffador not having the power to obtain a reconciliation, the Queen was obliged to submit to trust her person to the nobles in arms against her, the leaders of whom violated every principle of honor, every degree of humanity in their future conduct to her: but as to him, with whom they had been equally guilty of all the enormities justly laid to his charge, they artfully promifed not to oppose his departure Kircaldy, taking him by the hand, folemnly promifed him, that if he would retire with a fingle fervant, no one should molest or pursue him, so fearful were they of bringing him to a fair trial, least his condemnation should lead to a discovery of their guilt; in this the Queen joined Kircaldy, and intreated him to feek his fafety in flight. "Overwhelmed with shame, disap-" pointment, terror, remorfe, and despair, this miserable victim " of ambition and guilt turned his eyes to the Queen for the laft "time," whom he loft without refistance, after a union of only one month; fo foon vanished all his greatness, purchased by fo many and fuch great crimes: not daring to trust himself with his retainers at Lydesdale, where his family estates lay, he escaped to Dunbar. The nobles who had dethroned the Queen fent heralds and messengers at arms to command the person who had the charge of Dunbar Castle to submit to their authority; at the same time a thousand crowns were offered to any who should bring. Bothwell to Edinburgh, whom they accused as the murderer of K. Henry,

and all were forbidden to give him any affiftance whatever; yet PART IX. they cautiously avoided going against him, as not desirous of having James Hephim produced in public, fearing their own villainy should be burn, Duke of openly exposed; and the more so, as one of them whom they Earl of Bothwell, third brought to punishment for Henry's death, afferted his innocence, bushand of Oueen Mary, exculpated the Queen, but folemnly declared that Murray and Morton were the contrivers of the regicide, and this too just as he was going to be launched into eternity. As it was the interest of all parties to let him escape, he was suffered to remain at Dunbar twenty-one days, and then taking advantage of his office of high admiral of the kingdom, he left it on the ninth day of the month, and putting to fea, was landed in Murray. Here, though he was proferibed, his great uncle, Patrick Hepburn, the Bishop of that fee, received him at his palace of Spinie; the prelate, no doubt. felt for the misfortunes of so near a relative, whom he had educated; by his countenance, therefore, he was visited by many of the gentry of that part of the kingdom; however, the Lords Seton and Floming deferted him, and the Lords at Edinburgh fo highly refented the Bishop's conduct, that they forbade his tenants paying him any rent. Bothwell was enabled, notwithstanding their endeavours to the contrary, to obtain four or five small ships, with which he did confiderable injury to those of Scotland; out of them he procured whatever he wanted to furnish and store his own with. and fet fail for the Orkney islands, purposing to go to Kirkwall, in Mainland, the largest of them, and where there was a strong castle; but Gilbert Balfour, copying the perfidy of his brother, Sir James, refused to receive him, though he had been appointed governor by the unhappy fugitive. The council, enraged at his depredations upon the shipping of the subjects, issued out a proclamation, August 10, directing both men and ships to be made ready immediately at Dundee to purfue him; but leaving the Orkneys, he passed to Shetland isle, which he reached about the middle of that month, and where Fogge, the principal person, interested himself in his favor, and by whom he was enabled to oppose the squadron sent against him. It is plain that the artful Murray,

PART IX.

James Hepburn, Duke of Orkney, and Earl of Bothwell, third husband of Queen Mary.

appointed Regent of the kingdom under the Prince, who had been crowned, wished to have him seized and put to death in that distant part of the Scotch dominions; it would have been easy to have fuppreffed any thing that might have laid open his own and his accomplices' guilt; and the better to effect this, Sir Will. Murray, and Kircaldy, of Grange, had a commission "to fence, and hold " courts of justice wherefoever they should think good." But though they furprized his fquadron, and took three of his ships, yet he escaped, and finding no other resource, he lived in a piratical manner; but happening to feize a Turkish ship trading upon the Norway coast, the court of Denmark dispatched two ships of war in pursuit of him, who obliged him to submit; the Danish monarch, exasperated at the depredations committed upon ships trading to his kingdoms, condemned the crew to that death which all civilized nations pass upon sea robbers. This wretched nobleman, the husband of a fovereign, was unwilling to have his shame and difgrace proclaimed, but was defirous to hide it, by sharing an ignominious death with his failors; but even this confolation was denied him, for fome Scotch merchants faw and recollected him; but he escaped the gibbet only to linger out his life in a loathsome dungeon, without a fingle comfort. In 1567 the Parliament of Scotland expressed their opinion that there were new proofs, fufficiently clear, of his having taken off the King, and, without examination, attainted him, and confiscated his estates; a practice that had difgraced the reign of Henry VIII. and which ought always to be reprobated. It is faid that the Regent demanded him; but the King of Denmark refused to deliver him up, regarding him as a culprit to the laws of his own dominions. It is more than possible that the crafty Murray privately assured the Danish monarch, that he should be better pleased to have him detained where he was, and might pay the King for complying with his wishes; for what gratification could it be to Denmark to keep fuch a man in prison; why not do an act of justice to herself, and fave trouble in facrificing the criminal? In this miferable fituation he lay unpitied, and in general unnoticed; and notwithstanding

what the enemies of Mary have pretended, it is most reasonable to PART IX. suppose the severity of his fate was not felt by her, more than a James Hepflight compassion. His crimes against K. Henry, which she must burn Duke of Orkney, and have been foon fatisfied of, the violence she had experienced be-Earl of Both-well, third fore, and his cruel treatment after her marriage with him, must husband of Queen Mary. have shocked her as a christian, a lady, and a Queen; innumerable were the indignities he put upon her, "and he was fo beaftly and " fuspicious, that he suffered her not to pass one day in patience, " without making her shed abundance of tears." She had not even bade him a fingle adieu, when they parted at Carberry Hill; and the often applied for and withed to have a divorce from him. whilst she was in Scotland and England; and even held herself so far free from any matrimonial connection with him, that she listened to the addresses of Don John of Austria, and the Duke of Norfolk*, during the life-time of Bothwell; but it was fcarce possible for her to throw off this union with him whilst she was a

* Mary, whilst a lonely prisoner, and even during the life-time of Bothwell, entertained ideas of marrying again. Don John of Austria, the natural fon of the Emperor Charles V, hoped to reftore her to and share the throne with her. The Duke of Norfolk a long time catried on a negociation of marriage with her, and the was defirous of it; for he was the richest subject in Europe, and the most popular nobleman in England; but it cost him his head-so unfortunate were all Mary's schemes of happiness. To those unacquainted with the manners of those times, the letters slic wrote to this great peer will scem extremely indelicate. The Earl of Shrewfoury, who had the custody of this Queen many of the first years of her captivity in England, was thought to have rendered himfelf " peculiarly agree-" able?' to his royal prifoner; but this was only popular fcandal. Mary was thought incapable of living without an intrigue; her Gallican education, more than her constitution, probably gave rise to this, but which the supposed criminality with Bothwell established. The idea of common fame is seldom to be trusted; the Countels of Shrewsbury, a haughty and rich beauty, it is known had her jealousies, but it does not appear that she had any room for them, except the Earl's softening the hard fate of degraded majesty as much as was consistent with the fidelity he owed his own fovereign. He attended Mary's execution, but we may suppose with reluctance. In the infcription upon his magnificent monument in the old church in Sheffield, is a vindication of his conduct towards the Scottift Queen; he died May 18, 1590. I have feen the leaden coffin in which his body was; it is made fomewhat in the human form, and his titles are upon it.

burn, Duke of Orkney, and Earl of Bothwell, third hufband of Queen Mary.

PART IX. prisoner; and her subjects, who thought her honor and that of the James Hep- nation to greatly injured by the marriage, when the requested thems to examine it, and if not legal to pronounce it void, only replied, if the wanted to have it diffolved, they would recommend her to write to the King of Denmark to put him to death. Thus abandoned of all, he was left to folitude and wretchedness, which having fuffered for nearly ten years, he died in 1575, totally deprived of understanding, which was a blessing, for memory must have been a torment. He drew out and figned a full relation of the murder of K. Henry; but it going through the hands of some of the other regicides, it was never suffered to appear, but in a garbled state. Camden, whom it is well known had the best intelligence of Mary's history, avers that Bothwell most solemnly protested that the Queen was in no degree privy to the murder of the King, her husband. I have been the more particular in relating the particulars of Bothwell's life, that it may forcibly evince how fhort all the honors and possessions of this world often are, when purchased by crimes, and what a fate awaits the poor self-deceivers; how exquisitely do they feel! He is one of the numerous instances that prefent themselves, to convince us that the virtuous alone can bear misfortunes with true greatness of mind. There is neither any painted nor engraved portrait of this extraordinary man. Mary is faid to have been feven weeks with child by him when they feparated, and it has been thought that she was brought to bed of a daughter whilft she was a prisoner in Lochlevin, that she was fent and educated in a monastery in France, and that she died a nun at Notre Dame de Soissons; but there does not appear to havebeen any truth in this relation.

PART X.

James VI. King of Scotland, succeeded to England.

JAMES VI. was born in the castle of Edinburgh June 12, 1566, and was fole heir of K. Henry and Q. Mary, both of the house of Stuart, a family peculiarly fortunate in having the crown come twice into it by marriage; both branches descended from two brothers, for K. Henry, the father of James, forung from Robert Stuart, only brother to Alexander, the great grandfather of K. Robert II. the first of the Stuart line who fat upon the throne of Scotland. James was given to Britain to allay that animofity that had for innumerable ages raged with fo great a fury; but to Elizabeth, the Queen of England, his birth was a grievous wound, for receiving the news whilft dancing, she was struck with the most piercing grief, exclaiming, "the Queen of Scots has a fair fon, whilft I am but a barren stock," her hand at the same time supporting her penfive head; yet she protested to Melvil, the ambassador, that the news was so agreeable, that it revived her from a tedious fickness, and to testify her pleasure at the event, accepted the office of sponsor, and sent the Earl of Bedford as her proxy, and with him Mr. Cary, fon of Lord Hunsden, Hatton, her confident, Mr. Lignish, the favorite of the Duke of Norfolk, with a splendid train of knights and gentlemen, with most of the officers that were in Berwick. A tragical accident was near happening at the ceremony, owing to a most ridiculous circumstance; the French who came upon the same occasion were greatly piqued at seeing the evident partiality shewn to the English, owing to the rich prize, the imperial crown of that kingdom, being the chief object of Mary's

Scotland, and I. of England.

PART N. ambition; to give vent to their refentment, they contrived to drefs many of their countrymen as Satyrs, who had long tails, and whips in their hands; these preceded, as if making way for a machine, which paffed through the great hall, bringing, as without human affistance, the dishes for supper, accompanied with musicians, habited as damfels, finging and playing upon instruments of music; these Satyrs, in their way, took occasion to deride the English, by putting their hands behind, and shaking their tails at them, which disgusted them so much, that Hatton and Lignish gave up their intention of supping before the Queen, and the great banquet, that they might have seen the order of the entertainment; and in contempt of fuch usage, turned their backs to the table, fitting upon the bare floor. Hatton was so enraged at the indignity offered, that he declared, if it had not been for the royal presence, he would have flruck a dagger into the heart of Bastien, the contriver of it; the Earl of Bedford softened the matter to appeale the English. Whilst they staid, there were daily banqueting, dancing, and triumphs; Bedford was presented by Q. Mary with a rich chain of diamonds, valued at 2,000 crowns; Cary had a chain of pearls, and a ring, with a fine diamond; Hatton a chain, with her majesty's picture, and a ring; and Lignish, with five others of quality, had each of them chains. It is fingular that Henry, the father of the infant, refused to grace the ceremony with his prefence, though he was then in the palace, from a disagreement that subsisted between him and the Queen, his wife, who, amidst all this splendor, retired in fecret, to vent the anguish of her heart in fighs and tears for the infenfible cruelty of the partner of her throne and bed, whom the haughty Elizabeth ordered her representative on no account to honor with the title of King.

> Few Princes have had more unfortunate parents than James; for in a short time he was deprived of his father by violence, and foon after his other parent loft her throne and liberty, and closed her life by a still more tragical death; thus was his infancy marked with extraordinary events, and in it he is supposed to have escaped the

most imminent danger from the criminal defigns of Bothwell*, PART X. one of the murderers of his father, the invader of his royal mother's James VI. of honor, and whom, from that circumstance, he prevailed upon to 1. of England. accept him for a husband; these events led him to be an innecent usurper, for the junto that dethroned Mary were determined to place the crown upon his head. Having obliged the imprisoned Queen, by threats and promises, to refign the infignia of royalty, they prepared to transfer them to this Prince, her only child; they, July 29, 1567, affembling at Sterling, called themselves the representatives of the three orders in the state, and having hastily made a previous preparation, proceeded to invest the infant with the honors they had taken from his mother; Lords Lindsay and Ruthven renouncing, in her name, the government, producing for their authority the extorted refignation figned by her, and then furrendered up the fword, fceptre, and diadem; feveral of the noblemen who effected the revolution, received these in behalf of the states, but for the use of the Prince; and then the Earl of Morton, bending his body, put his hand upon the fcriptures, and took the coronation oath for the Prince, engaging that he should govern according to the laws, and undertaking that he should root out all heretics, and enemies to the true worship of God. Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, so often mentioned, having anointed him, presented to his infantine hands the fword and fceptre, and placed the crown upon his head; Knox preached a fermon upon the occasion, but was greatly displeased with the ceremony of anointing, as a Jewish rite. When they retired from the church to the castle, the Earl of Athol carried the crown, the Earl of Morton the sceptre, and the Earl of Mar, who had been the governor of James, had the honor now to carry him in his arms. His minority was conflantly disturbed by the ambition and turbulence of contending parties;

^{*} Some authors fay that Bothwell averred, that " if he could get James into his " hands, he would prevent his revenging his father's violent death;" but rash and unadvised as that abandoned nobleman was, it can scarce be thought that he should have been so unguarded; the truth is, that there was nothing, however improbable, but what met an easy belief at that period.

PART X. the first Regent, James, Earl of Murray, his illegitimate uncle, James IV. of fell by the hand of an affassin Jan. 23, 1570-1; Matthew, Earl Scotland, and I, of England, of Lenox, his maternal grandfather, was murdered September 4. following; the Earl of Mar, who next obtained that office, died at Sterling Oct. 28, 1572, as it is generally supposed by poison, administered by James Douglas, Earl of Morton, who became Regent, and defervedly fell upon the scaffold in June, 1581, when the King, though only fifteen years old, took the reigns of government into his hands; but he was frequently furprized and detained a prisoner by one or other of his great subjects, and nearly until the time of his acceding to the crown of England. It may here be remarked, that the Regents were regarded in Scotland as nearly equal in dignity to the fovereign, as they were formerly in the other northern kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden; the frequent minorities that happened in Scotland, and which exceeded in number those of any other nation, were chiefly occasioned by aninvincible enmity to England, which was often the grave of both the subject and the sovereign; affaffinations difgrace their annals. France affords not a few during the period comprized in these memoirs; Italy was skilled in the art of poisoning; England shed her illustrious blood another way; the scaffold was stained with the purple gore of her nobles, princes, and even fuch who fat upon the throne: happily, now, the great may retire to their parent earth without violence. Nothing has tended more to effect this bleffed change in Britain, than the union of the crowns in the person of K. James; the little despots in Scotland, who had ever withflood all legal government, were awed into fubmiffion by the greatness and splendor of the common sovereign of the two kingdoms. James acted with much prudence as King of Scotland, though he had received from Buchanan an education more fuited to the office of a pedagogue than a fovereign. He fucceeded to the English diadem March 24, 1602-3, and was received in fo flattering a manner by his new subjects, that it had the effect he warned them of; it spoiled a "gude King." He died at the palace of Theobalds March 27, 1625, after reigning over Scotland

fifty-nine years, and England twenty-two, and living fixty. His PART X. remains were buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey James VI. of amongst his predecessors; K. Charles, his son, walked as chief i. of England, mourner. James, though the offspring of the finest couple in Europe for beauty and elegance, was yet totally destitute of either. Numerous are his portraits, both painted and engraved.

Ann, Queen of K. James VI.

James received a splendid embassy from Frederic II. King of Denmark, confisting of 120 persons, conveyed in two ships, which was fent under pretence of demanding the restitution of the Orkney Isles, the 50,000 floring they had been mortgaged for not having been paid; but the real defign was to give the King an opportunity of proposing an alliance with a daughter of Denmark; but from the artful mifrepresentations of the English ambassador, whose mistress did not wish to see the Scottish monarch married, they were fo extremely ill-treated, that they were near returning to Denmark, full of rage and disappointment; for Mr. Woston had spoken of that court as drunken and contemptible; to the Danes he faid James called their fovereign a merchant, fo little did his majesty then know of the northern part of Europe. Wotton, also, to gain the favor of the ambassadors, offered them, in his mistress' name, money to supply their wants, which the neglect they experienced from his artful management had occasioned; and to heighten their, diffrust he told them, that there was a defign to prevent their return home, which their difgust induced them to wish, and with menaces of revenge and expressions of hatred to that child of fortune, Arran, the unworthy favorite of James, whom they had remembered a common foldier in Denmark, they were preparing to leave Scotland: happily Melvil, who had travelled, knew the dignity of Frederic, and the value of the alliance, and placed them both in fuch a point of view to his majefty, that he attempted to

PART X. regain the good opinion of the ambaffadors, by the splendid man-Ann, Queen of ner in which he treated them; he drank the healths of the King James VI. of Scotland, and and Queen, and then theirs; and at parting he did all his poverty 1. of England. would permit, for the Regents had left him no part of the fplendid valuables his mother had poffeffed, and he was necessitated to borrow of Arran a gold chain, weighing fifty-seven crowns; this was obliged to be divided into three parts; fortunately it was a very long one *. Softened, but not content, they left Scotland, with only observing at their departure, that the Orkneys would go with one of the Princesses of Denmark. James promised to fend ambaffadors to Frederic for the obligations he felt for the honor done him, and having distributed his bounty to the Danish failors, gunners, trumpeters, and musicians, they hoisted sail, and returned to their native shores. No stratagem employed by the English ambassador could prevail upon James to alter his determination of fending an embaffy to Frederic. Melvil declining it, recommended Mr. Peter Young, almoner to his majesty, who, with Colonel Stuart, brought home a flattering relation of the younger Princess; for the eldest had been promised to the Duke of Brunfwick . He presented the Danish monarch with some suitable gifts, promifing him that next year he would receive more illustrious persons from the Scottish court. In the interim, the King of Navarre fent to offer the Princess, his fifter, as a partner of his throne; defirous of deciding judiciously between these illustrious females, James obtained a miniature of her, and received a flattering relation of her accomplishments; but for some reason

^{*} This chain the Earl of Arran had received from Sir James Balfour, and probably he had it as part of the royal plunder.

⁺ Elizabeth, Princess Royal, born in 1573, contracted in 1588 or 1589, and married in 1590 to Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick; she died in 1627.

I Catherine, the only daughter of Anthony de Bourbon, Duke of Vendosme, and titular King of Navarre, and fifter of Henry, who fucceeded to that title, and afterwards became King of France, was married, in 1599, to Henry, Duke of Lorsain, and died in 1604 without iffue. She was a spirited Princess, inheriting much

he preferred the former offer, and dispatched Colonel Stuart again PART X. to Denmark, where he met with a cool reception, because Frederic Ann, Queen of had heard of the other proposed alliance; but the affiduity of scotland, and Stuart, who went feveral times at his own expence, fo overcame the royal Dane's refentment, that before his death he expressly enjoined that the matrimonial negotiation should be renewed. After innumerable obstacles were raised by the Scotch ministers, penfioners to the English Queen, who pretended to prefer the Princess of Navarre, James, whose patience was exhausted, procured the citizens of Edinburgh to unite with him, and they declared, that unless the chancellor and the other counsellors agreed to the Danish alliance, they would seize and put them to death; this overcame every difficulty, and a treaty of marriage was concluded between James and Ann, the fecond daughter of Frederic. She was born at Scanderburgh Dec. 12, 1574, and married by proxy at Cronenburgh, Aug. 20,1589, but being detained in Norway, whither a ftorm had driven the veffel in which she was, James, who was very impatient, and had vowed that he would confummate the marriage within the year, fet fail with three ships, taking with him many of his attendants, and some of his confidential counsellors. Finding the Princess at Upsto, in that kingdom, five days after he had embarked, and on the Sunday following the nuptials were folemnized there, in the French language, by Lindfay, a Scotch minister James had taken with him for that purpose; and because the season was so far advanced, he accepted the invitation of the Queen-mother, and her fon Christiern, the King of Denmark elect; accordingly the bridal fuit fet out from Upsto, Dec. 2, and came to Bahouse, a castle upon the borders of Norway and Sweden, Jan. 1, where they remained feven days, waiting for a convoy from the King of Sweden, and having been met by a troop of 400 horse upon the frozen river, the royal suit passed into the dominions of Denmark, arriving at Westbury the next day, where

of the genius of her brother. No arguments could ever prevail upon her to become a Roman Catholic.

PART X. Ann, Queen of

they continued five more; thence went to Falkenberg, Halmstadt, Cowholm, Elfingborn, and on Jan. 21 were received by the Queen-James VI of section, and dowager at Cronenburgh; the young monater, and the four Regents of the realm, welcoming to of England. Rein, his brother, and the four Regents of the realm, welcoming until the end of February, when he was prevailed upon to continue until April, that he might honor the marriage of the Queen's eldeft fifter with Henry-John, Duke of Brunswick; of this he gave his council advice, with an order to fend fix ships to Elsinore, to convey him, his Queen, and their attendants home. A friendship was formed between the young fovereigns of Scotland and Denmark that was truly fraternal, which continued during the life of James*. It is fingular, that the ministers who accompanied his majesty broke out into open diffentions about precedency. The ships arriving in the middle of April, the royal suit lest Elsinore, and landed May 20, 1590; they were accompanied by the Admiral of Denmark, many gentlemen, and fome of the council of that kingdom, who were rewarded with more than twelve golden chains, and many medals of the fame metal, with his majefty's effigies. Queen Ann was folemnly crowned by Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of the Kirk; the public rejoicings continued for two months afterwards. Elizabeth, though she had taken such unbecoming means to prevent the union, yet fent an ambaffador to congratulate the King and Queen, and to prefent fome costly things to the latter; he was honorably entertained, and at parting he received as a gift a ring, fet with feven great diamonds. All Britain rejoiced in this alliance, except the poor old decrepit women of the North of Scotland, whom James put to death for the supposed crime of witchcraft, from the foolish idea that they had raised storms at sea, on purpose to destroy the new Queen, and which it was pretended

^{*} Although Christiern IV. was a youth when K. James was married, yet the affection they entertained for each other always remained; he twice vifited James after he became King of Great Britain; the English were shocked at his manners, and fome of the ladies refented his brutal behavior, which justifies the character given of kim as a most libidinous Prince; he died Feb. 28, 1648.

they had nearly effected; fo fatal was the extravagant prejudices of PART X. those times to aged females*. William Dundas writes from Edin- Ann, Queen of burgh, June 11, 1590, to Mr. Archibald Douglas, "Our Queene Scotland, and " carys a marvelus gravity, quhilk, w'. hor patriall folitarines, I. of England, contrar to ye, humor of our pepell hath banished all our ladys " clein from her;" but it afterwards appears, by a letter of Lord Henry Howard to K. James, that the was a weak, intriguing, tattling woman, and one who ought to be watched; and experience proved that the Queen " was naturally bold and enterprizing; she " loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was ac-" quainted with all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, occa-" fioned by the Catholics, whom she supported, and had even en-" couraged, but also in England, where the discontented, whose " numbers were not inconfiderable, were not forry to be supported " by a Princess destined to be their Queen." She resented Melvil's appointment to be gentleman of her bedchamber, as thinking he was fet to be her "keeper," as she expressed it, until she was convinced of her error; she became very popular, deservedly so, by taking the pains to learn the particulars of every one's case that was in difgrace, and if the found there was any miftake or mifrepresentation, she set their character in its true light to the King, and strove all in her power to restore them to favor; not content, however, with this, the gained by other ways a confiderable aftendancy in Scotland, though James was not either uxorious or fond of ladies, and this was owing to her bold and daring spirit, which in many inflances shewed itself; she kept a strong party, which often opposed the King's ministers with success; and her violence

^{*} Mingled wonder and grief must seize all who read of the cruelties practifed against the supposed witches: yet none can do it without laughing at the fooleries which were charged upon these poor creatures: they raise the devil, he preaches to them in a black gown, but has the affurance to wear a hat, speaks a Spanish sentence, most uncivilly bids them kifs his posteriors, and this they meanly condescend to do, "though it was as cold as ice:" these absurd falsities were deposed upon oath, with a thousand other "devilish ridiculous forgeries," The poor wretches must have been mad, and their judges fools.

was so great that Henry IV. of France, and other princes upon the Ann, Queen of continent are represented as constantly expecting to hear of her husband's falling a victim to her practices; the "bonny Earl of Murray," Lof England in 1592, was furprized, and put to death by the order of James from jealoufy, either political, or personal, and which was one of the greatest stains upon his character. Murray was the friend of the Queen, who respected him living, and lamented him dead: the Scots looked upon his fall as the effect of the King's supposing himfelf dishonored, or in danger of it, as may be learned from a popular ballad upon the occasion, one stanza of which is,

- " He was a braw gallant,
- " And he play'd at the gluve*,
- " And the bonny Earl of Murray,
- " Oh! he was the Queen's love."

It is undoubted, as well from history, as from the portraits of him still remaining, that he was very handsome; and he thought himself so; for when Gordon, one of his affaffins, wounded him in the face, he, in dying accents, faid, "you have spilt a better " face than your awn." The Queen certainly had her male friendships, for so strongly was she attached to Alexander Ruthven, the brother of the Earl of Gowrie +, that when he was killed in a supposed attempt against the King's life, in 1600, she determined to revenge it, and for that purpose secretly sent to Stuart, the exiled Earl of Bothwell, to return, that he might carry her defigns into execution: and when the came into England, the fent Sir Duncan Campbell a ring, fet with diamonds, and ornamented with

* Glave is a fword, implying that he was skilful at that weapon:

rie, was privately admitted into the Queen's presence.

- † It appears, that by a letter from Lord Henry Howard to Mr. C. Bruce, that " divers of Gowrie's nearest and dearest friends have secret access to persons of great
- "quality; they keep old iffues open, and feed spleen against all those that are em-
- of ployed and trusted in the courses of the present state, which the King's wisdom
- " tempereth:" and by Nicholfon's letters to Cecil, Beatrix Ruthven, fifter of Gow-

a pair of doves, (a peculiar device from a lady) earnestly inviting PART X. him to her new court. Nor are there wanting other instances of Ann, Oueen of her bold and daring spirit; in 1595 she was so displeased at not scotland, and having the care of the Prince-Royal, that she laid a plan to seize 1. of England. him, and had not the King surprized her at Falkland, she would have effected her defign, having won over many of the counfellors to her interest; and so fearful was James of her projects, that he fent a letter to the Earl of Mar, in which he told his lordship that he confided the Prince to his care, in case he died, and that " nci-"ther for the Queen, nor for the states' pleasure, he should de-" liver him out of his hands till he should be eighteen years of " age," when he was to be judged fit to govern. She greatly refented this, and in 1603, when his majesty taking his departure for England, requested her to follow in about twenty days, but continued to entrust Lord Mar with the person of the Prince, it fo highly exasperated the haughty Queen, that she insisted upon his being delivered up to her; and when denied, it threw her into a dangerous fickness, that occasioned a miscarriage; and she prevailed at length fo far, that the Duke of Lenox had a commission to comply with her request; yet this did not fatisfy, for when Spotswood, the succeffor of Beaton in the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow, was fent to conduct her majesty into England, and endeavored to obtain a reconciliation with Mar, as a nobleman to whom he was greatly, if not principally, indebted for his peaceable entrance into England, the scornfully replied, that "rather than be " beholding to him, she would have wished never to go into that "kingdom;" but by still farther explanations, she at length was mollified, and deigned to give his lordship some tokens of esteem. Her majesty was conducted to London by the Earls of Sussex and Lincoln, with others, accompanied by Prince Henry and the Princess Elizabeth: they arrived July 27; she was crowned Queen of , England with her royal confort.

Sir Thomas Edmonds writes to the Earl of Shrewfbury, " Is understand that the King is verie ill fatisfied with the Duke of

PART X. " Lenox for not having more effectually employed himself to dis-" wade the Queene from some courses web. she hath taken, web. Ann, Queen of "water the Queen of the Minge;" particularizing her ma-I. of England, jefty's conferring the place of her chamberlain upon one Mr. Kennedy, a Scotchman, of whom the King had fo ill an opinion, that he declared if the brought him into that office he would " break the staff of his chamberlainship on his head, and so dis-" mis him;" and the Duke was dispatched to the Queen, to acquaint her that there were feveral others she had nominated to attend upon her equally obnoxious to his majefty; but so highly did the refent this opposition to her pleasure, that she would not admit Lady Kildare and Lady Walfingham to be of her privy chamber; the Countess of Bedford being the only one then nominated to that honor that she would permit to be sworn into that office. If the Queen was haughty and intractable to James and his ministers, she was then all condescension to her new subjects, affecting that behavior which made Elizabeth fo justly beloved. Lady Arbella writes, Sept. 16, 1603, to the Earl of Shrewfbury, " If ever theare weare such a vertu as curtesy at the court, I mar-" vell what is becom of it, for I protest I see little or none of it " but in the Queene, who, ever fince her coming to Newbury, " hath spoken to the people as she passeth and receiveth theyr " prayers w'. thancks, and thanckfull countenance, barefaced, " to the great contentment of natific and forrein people; for I " would not have you thinck the French Imbaffador would leave " that attractive virtue of our late Queene El. unremembred or " uncomended, when he faw it imitated by our most gracious "Queene, least you should thinck we infect even our neighbours " wt. incivility." James was very liberal relative to her revenue as Queen-confort and dowager, for her establishment was to remain the same in either case; for, after fearthing for a precedent in the revenue of the wives of the preceding monarchs of England, he learnt that Catherine of Arragon, the first Queen of K. Henry VIII. had manors to the value of 5,500l. fettled upon her, befides fome houses and parks that were not valued; he appointed that

her majesty should have manors* in ancient rents of assize "ultra "repris." to the value of 4,375l.; in fee farms 1,001l.; and parks Ann, Queen of and chases not valued 10l.; total, 5,376l. besides houses not va-James VI. of Scotland, and lued, which were as good or better than all those contained in I. of England. Q. Catherine's jointure, being Somerset House, in London; the honor of Hatfield, Herts; the honor of Pontefract, with the caftle, in Yorkshire; Nonesuch, in Surry; and Havering, at Bower, in Effex, with power of granting leafes for 21 years, upon referving the old rents: the casualties of fines, it was supposed, would be greater, owing to the wife regulations made to restrict the under officers; " fo that befides the certain rents of the land, the profit " arising by fines for leases, wardship, and other escheats, it was " thought the whole would amount, communibus annis, to about " 1,000l." which would raise the whole jointure to 6,376l.; this revenue was only to be expended "in wages to her fervants, ap-

^{*} The names of all the manors within the Queen's dower: Grantham, Gedney, with the lordflip and manor of Spalding; Pinchbeek, Holbeck, Moulton, Weston and Cowbett, in the county of Lincoln; Teppesham and Oxmore, in Devon: Snave, the seite and capital messuage of Neotes, or Neote's-Court, in infula Scapie; and the manor of Northborne, in Kent. Selfey, in Suffex; the great park of Nonfuch and Clans, in the parish of Cheame, in Surry; Hanslop, Farnham-Royal, Bireton, Newport-Pagnell, Rifborough-Princes, Whaddon, and Nafh, in Bucks: Shitlington, Cranfield, Biglefwad, in Bedford; Newbury, in Berks: Cofham, in Wilts; Hatfield and Hitchin, in Herts; Havering-le-Bower, in Effex; Southstoke and Corston, in Somerset; Weck, in Dorset; herbage and pannage poi de Pomfract, i.e. Pontefract; manors of Ackworth, Barwick, Scoles, and Leeds, in York: rents and profits of the honor of Clare, lying in the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge; Hecham and Walton, with Frimley, in Suffolk; Pulham-Mary, and Pulham-Magdalen; rents and profits of the honor of Clare, held in Norfolk: Hampton-in-Arden, and Henley-in-Arden, in Warwick; Bifley, in Gloucester; Kingsland, Mawarden, Westharnes, Stockton, Stoke, Leominster, Ivington, and Hope, in Hereford; and Kingfnorton, in Worcestershire. For the care of her revenue, her majefty appointed a general furveyor, feveral high-flewards, with a fuperior one: a receiver-general, a matter of all her "highness's" forests, parks, and wardens, besides keepers of her several houses; and she selected twelve knights, inhabiting feveral parts of the realm, to be of her council, and thele were all appointed and paid by her majefly.

PART X. "parel for herself, and other-ordinary rewards," for his majesty was to pay all other expences of household and stable; and the Jemes VI. of Queen still retained the jointure or dowry she had settled upon her l. of England in Scotland, at the time of her marriage.

She wished to be thought to have the entire confidence and dispofal of the Prince of Wales; it is generally believed the had many political intrigues, and kept up a fecret correspondence with feveral foreign powers, especially Spain, in whose interest she was very warm. James's ministers treated her with as much disregard as the did them with a deferved contempt. Scandal revived her whispers, by infinuating that she had too great a regard for the Earl of Pembroke; but, like her supposed Scotch lovers, such reports feem only to have arisen from her warmth in uniting with popular leaders in opposing the base minions that brought a contempt upon her hulband's government; it is not, however improbable but that she might prefer the handsome and the elegant to her confidence, in which she did but copy the example of James; and their great grand-daughter, Q. Ann, used to fay, that none but fuch of both fexes ought to be feen in a court. The constant mortifications she suffered from the King, his minister, Car, Earl of Southampton, and still greater from the Duke of Buckingham, with the great debt her magnificent manner of living had occasioned, broke her spirit so much, that in the latter part of her life she principally employed herfelf in ftriving, by entertainments and choice viands, to please the taste of James, who was fond of the table. Though he never gave her that confidence that her good fense and judgement deserved, yet there are not wanting instances of his having flewn her great fondness, and such as is not very consistent with our ideas of delicacy, for in the public streets of London, when he took his leave, he more than once kiffed her, "fuffi-"ciently to the middle of her shoulders, for so low she went bare," and before all their attendants, and fuch who were drawn thither either by duty or led by curiofity; however, the total indifference of James to her at the last, with the disappointment she received

in confequence of it, threw her into a decline, which ended in a dropfy. James, fostened, perhaps, by her illness, augmented her Ann, Queen of jointure, and paid her debts; but this did not prevent the effects Scotland, and of her malady proving fatal. She died at Hampton-Court on I. of England. Tuesday, about two o'clock in the morning of March 2, 1618-19;* her corpse was brought in a barge to the palace in the Strand, where it lay in state, and with great pomp was conveyed thence, May 13, to Westminster, and deposited in the chapel of Henry VII. after she had lived more than forty-four years; it is faid the King did not lament her death, but he was near following her immediately, from a dangerous fit of fickness. The English, however, certainly felt her loss; she had always been beloved by them, and though we must not believe such authors as represent her, as "a " Princess of so spotless a life, that malice could not find a blemish "in her," nor, that "on her monument a character of virtue " may be engraved;" yet as Archbishop Abbot, who so well knew her, and was little given to flattery, spoke so highly of her many years after her death, it may be justly supposed she deserved his commendations, notwithstanding what malice had urged against her character. She understood the French and Dutch languages, and I have feen fome letters written in English, which evince fhe had made a great proficiency in our tongue, and are proofs of her good understanding; and it cannot be denied but she formed a proper estimate of merit, by her patronage of Sir Walter Raleigh, though in difgrace, a prisoner, and adverse to Spain, whose interests fhe had espoused. She was fond of building, and in 1600 made great additions to her favorite refidence, the palace of Dumfirling; and the palace in the Strand having been rebuilt for her use, she changed the name of it from Somerset to Denmark House; but after her death the old name of it was restored. The number of jewels she left was so great and valuable, that it was thought they would have been fufficient, properly applied, to have re-inftated

^{*} I have been very particular in specifying the time of Q. Ann's death, because so many authors differ in it; yet Sandford has given all the above circumstances, and adds too an inscription set up for her in Westminster Abbey, which confirms it.

Ann, Queen of letter to his father, acquaints him that the people held the Queen's scotland, and death to be one of the fatal effects that I 1. of England. comet "that rose in the tail of the constellation of Virgo." "She "left," fays he, "a world of brave jewels behind, but one Piero, an " outlandish man, who had the keeping of them, embezzled many, " and is run away; the left all the had to Prince Charles, whom the " ever loved best of all her children." In this idea he appears mistaken, if not fingular; "nor do I hear of any legacy she left at all to " her daughter in Germany; for that match, some say, lessened some-"thing of her affection towards her ever fince, fo that she would " often call her Goody Palfgrave; nor could fhe abide Secretary "Winwood ever after, who was one of the chiefest instruments " to bring that match about, as also for the rendition of the cau-"tionary towns in the Low Countries, Flushing and Brill, with "the Rammakins." There was a portrait of her majefty at Somerset House, painted by C. Johnson, which has been engraved, and is one of the fet of illustrious heads; there is another painting of her at the feat of Mr. Erskine, at Altoa, in Scotland; Crifpin and Simon Pass engraved her portrait, as well as some others; by all these it appears that she was very far from a "beauty," but she

Children of K. fames VI. and Q. Ann.

Dalmenhurst.

had a good complexion, for her "fkin was far more amiable than "the features it covered, though not the disposition, in which report "rendered them very debonair." The Queen bore for her arms those of K. James, impaling, 1. Denmark: 2. Norway, Sweden, and of the Goths: and 4. Vandals upon an escutcheon of pretence: also of four pieces; 1. Sleswick; 2. Holstein; 3. Stormer; and 4. Ditzmers: and over all, upon another shield, Oldenburgh and

1. Henry-Frederic, born at Sterling, February 19, 1693; most of the principal courts of Europe congratulated K. James upon

the birth of this, his eldest son, looking upon the Prince as the fu- PART X. ture heir of a splendid monarchy; his baptism was the most magni- Children of K. ficent Scotland ever faw; the sponsors were, the Queen of England, James VI. and Queen Ann. represented by the Earl of Sussex, attended by a sp'endid suit; the Dukes of Brunfwick and Mecklenburgh, and the United States, from all of whom came ambaffadors: France fent none *. The infant was brought into the Queen's chamber of presence, and laid upon a bed of state; then came in the ambassadors, to each of whom the Prince was prefented. The Countess of Mar delivered him to the Duke of Lenox; his grace to the Earl of Suffex, who the whole day had the principal place of honor. In going to the chapel Lord Hume bore the ducal coronct, Lord Levingston the towel, Lord Seton the fontal bason, and Lord Semple the laver; the Earl of Suffex carried the Prince under a rich imperial canopy, supported by four Lairds; the child's train was borne by the Lords Sinclair and Urquhart, a great number of illustrious persons of both fexes attending in the procession, who all passed through a

* K. James acted imprudently in not gratifying England and France, with whom he was to particularly connected, for he only commissioned the Laird of Eafter Weems, who was fervant to his most Christian Majesty, and who had business in France, to notify the birth of Prince Henry to Elizabeth, as he passed through London, and to Henry IV. when he arrived at Paris. Perhaps there was a difficulty in fixing upon fuitable persons, for the council, who had the choice of them, appointed Sir William Keith one of them, who could fpeak neither Latin, French, nor German. Mr. Peter Young, who was fent to Denmark, Mecklenburgh, and Brunswie, gained three fair gold chains; but England and France were fo displeased, they gave the messenger nothing. The French monarch resused to fend any ambassador to the baptism, and Elizabeth intended to have declined it; but finding Henry would not, the complied, to evince the fuperiority of her affection to the King, and the people of Scotland. Except Denmark and Holland, no party appears entirely fatisfied; Meeklenburg and Brunswie were displeased that a particular express had not been fent to each: nor would their ambaffadors, when they came, ride out of Leith with the Danish, but requested a particular convoy to Edinburgh. They, with the Dutch ambaffadors, remained long there, in expectation of those of England and France; the latter never came; and also for the finishing of the chapel of Sterling, which was rebuilding, as it was determined the baptism should be performed there.

Queen Ann.

guard of young noblemen and gentlemen; upon their entrance into Children of K. the chapel his majesty, rising from the throne, received and faluted James VI. and the ambaffadors; the infant was returned to the Duke of Lenox, who gave him to his nurse, and then the estates took their seats. A chair of state was fet upon the right hand for the ambaffador of France, though not prefent, next to which fat the Danish ambaffador; on the left the English, Brunswic, Mecklenburgh, and those of the States; before each of them was placed a small table, covered with velvet; but there were only attendants to wait upon the Earl of Suffex, who, when the baptismal service was ended, presented the Prince to David Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen; but David Lindsay, minister of Leith, named him: the procession returning in the same order as they went, when the infant being laid upon the bed of honor, Lion, King at arms, proclaimed his titles; Henry-Frederic, Knt. Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles; Earl of Carric, Duke of Rothfay, Prince and Steward of Scotland. Gold and filver medals were then distributed amongst the people, and many gentlemen received the honor of knighthood. The prefents that were made by the ambaffadors were very splendid; particularly those fent by Q. Elizabeth, confifting of a fine wrought cupboard of filver, gilt, with some cups of massy gold. The ambassador of the States prefented a golden box, containing a parchment, written in letters of gold, promising a pension of 5,000 ducats during the life of the Prince, and large cups of maffy gold, two of which Melvil, who received them, fays he could fearcely lift up and replace again upon the table; nor were there wanting many jewels, and other valuables, presented by the Princes; these the Queen received into her own hands. The public rejoicings were continued for a whole month; but this profusion was greater than the slender revenue of James could support, and tended probably to the melting down all the rich and valuable plate these potentates had fent, all which were foon coined into money, to his no fmall difgrace. Prince Henry was put under the care of the Earl of Mar whilst he remained in Scotland. Upon his father's accession to the English crown, he was fent for into that kingdom, and arrived at York

June 11, 1603; at Easton, in the county of Northampton, on the 27th, PART X. where he was met by K. James, and conducted to London. July Children of K. 2, at a chapter of the order of the Garter, held at Windsor, he James VI. and Queen Ann. was installed one of the Knights; in 1609 he was created a Knight, when an aid was granted throughout the kingdom, and though then fo young, he shewed his courage and skill at the barriers. May 30, 1610, he was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, with a solemnity suitable to the occasion and his merit: Sir William Segar, Garter King at arms, bearing the letters patent, the Earl of Suffex the purple robes, the Earl of Huntingdon supported his train, the Earl of Cumberland carried the fword, the Earl of Rutland the ring, the Earl of Derby the rod, the Earl of Shrewibury the cap of cftate and the coronet, and the Earls of Nottingham and Northampton supporting his Royal Highness, who was in his furcoat only, and bare-headed, attended by twentyfive Knights of the Bath; he knelt before the fovereign, whilst the letters patent were read by the Earl of Salisbury, and at the word accustomed, his majesty invested him with the robes, sword, cap, coronet, rod, and ring, when having kiffed him upon the cheek, the ceremony was finished. After this he kept a separate court; Sir Thomas Chaloner, his governor, was then appointed his Lord Chamberlain; Sir Edward Philips his Chancellor, with other officers fuitable to his rank. Prince Henry had so improved under the tuition of Mr., afterwards Sir Adam Newton, that he was the delight and hopes of Britain; and was esteemed, beloved, and courted by that great judge of merit, Henry IV. K. of France; but, whilft possessing all those manly and heroic virtues which would have made him a most puissant monarch, he was cut off at an early age, having not quite atained his nineteenth year, falling a martyr to violent exercife, which he had often been cautioned against, and which he had felt the ill effects of, yet incautiously coming from the palace of Richmond to that of St. James's, he threw himfelf into fo great a heat by playing at tennis with the Palfgrave, and Count Henry of Naffau, that it occasioned a violent sever, which fettled upon his brain, and, after fuffering most exquisite tortures,

PART X. he died Nov. 6, 1612. His corple was conveyed to Westminster Children of K. Abbey, and laid in the vault of his grandmother, the ill-fated Q. James VI. and of Scots. Sandford has given a representation of the hearse that was placed for him in the abbey. His death occasioned a gloom upon every face: his father felt his loss much less than he ought; but the virtues of Henry were a severe reflection upon his conduct, and the entire love and confidence there was between the Queen and this, her darling child, might contribute to that mean jealoufy which difgraced K. James: but the fuggestion that the father had deprived the fon of life, is alike cruel and ill founded, for there are undeniable proofs that his death was natural. Sir Charles Cornwallis, treasurer of his household, ancestor of the Marquis Cornwallis, who wrote his life with apparent impartiality, speaks of him thus: "He was of a comely, tall, middle stature, about five foot " and eight inches high; of a strong, strait, well-made body, with " fomewhat broad shoulders, and a small waist; of an amiable " majestic countenance; his hair of an auburn color, long face, and " broad forehead; piercing grave eyes, a most gracious smile, with " a terrible frown: courteous, loving, and affable; his favor, like " the fun, indifferently feeming to thine upon all: naturally thame-" faced and modelt; most patient, which he shewed in his life and " death; diffimulation he esteemed most base, chiefly in a Prince; " not willing, nor by nature being able to flatter, favor, or use " those kindly who deserved not his love. Quick he was to con-" ceive any thing; not rash, but mature in deliberation; yet most " constant, having resolved: true to his promise, most secret, " even from his youth, fo that he might have been trusted in any " thing that did not force a discovery, being of a close disposition, " not easy to be known or pried into; of a fearless, noble, heroic, " and undaunted courage, thinking nothing impossible that ever " was done by any. He was ardent in his love to religion which " love, and all the good causes thereof, his heart was bent, by " fome means or other, (if he had lived) to have shewed, and " fome way to have compounded the unkind jars thereof. He " made conscience of an oath, and was never heard to take God's "and in vain. He hated popery, though he was not unkind part x. "to the persons of papists. He loved, and did rightly strive to children of k. James VI. and Gueen Ann."

"He greatly delighted in all kinds of rare inventions and arts, and in all kinds of engines belonging to the wars, both by sea and land; in the bravery and number of great horses; in shooting and levelling great pieces of ordnance; in the ordering and marshalling of arms; in building and gardening, and in all forts of rare music, chiefly the trumpet and drum; in liming and painting; carving, in all forts of excellent and rare pictures, which he had brought unto him from all countries."

Before this small book is an engraving of him: there are many others. He chose for his mottoes, "Pax mentis, honesta gloria;" and "Tuvat, ire per altum."

- 2. Robert, who was born at Dumfirmling Palace, and died whilft James was K. of Scotland only.
- 3. Charles, born at Dumfirmling Nov. 9, 1600; created Duke of Albany, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Armanoch. He was intrusted to the care of Lord Fife, President of the Session, but conducted into England in 1604; he was then a very weakly child. and fo rickety, that his legs were extremely crooked, that it was thought he must have had irons to enable him to walk; but by the care of Lady Harrington he became entirely upright. He was created Duke of York, and, upon his brother's death, Prince of Wales; at his father's he fucceeded to the throne. His political errors involved him in great and unparalleled misfortunes, which ended only in a violent and shocking death; for though he was not amenable to the law, having been doomed to die by an illegal fentence of a junto, conflituted his judges by a garbled House of Commons, he suffered on a scaffold, before one of his palaces in the capital, Jan. 30, 1648-9. By the beautiful, but weak, Henrietta-Maria, daughter of Henry IV. K. of France, he had four fons and four daughters; 1. Charles, who died an infant; 2. K. Charles II.

PART X.
Children of K.
James VI. and
Queen Ann.

who left no lawful iffue; 3. James II. by whose first wife he had O. Mary II. and Q. Ann. The furviving children of the fecond marriage were deprived of all right to the crowns of these realms, on account of their religion. 4. Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who died a bachelor, univerfally lamented by the fovereign and the people, Sept. 13, 1660. 5. Married to William, Prince of Orange, whose only child was K. William III. 6. Elizabeth, who died at the age of fourteen. 7. Ann. who died a child. And, 8. Henrietta-Maria, who, by Philip, Duke of Anjou, afterwards Duke of Orleans, brother of Lewis XIV. had two daughters, Louisa, first Queen to K. Charles II. of Spain, but died without issue; and Anna-Maria, who married Victor Amadeus II. Duke of Savoy, from which alliance descend the Kings of Sardinia; and, by females, the fovereigns of France, Spain, and Naples, and fome other potentates, but all of whom were precluded from fucceeding to the throne of England, as being of the Roman Catholic religion.

Margaret, who died a child. 4. Margaret, born at the palace of Dumfirmling Dec. 24, 1598, and died in Scotland, when a child.

Mary, who also died a child.

5: Mary, born at Greenwich in March, 1605; her sponsors were, the Duke of Holstein, Lady Arbella, and the Countess of Northumberland. She died Dec. 16, 1607, at Stanwell, under the care of Lady Knevet, and was buried in Westminster Abbey in a private manner, yet attended with many of the nobility of both sexes, and a sermon was preached upon the occasion by Mr. Leach; a tomb was erected to her memory, and her effigies, reclining on one side, were placed upon it.

Sophia, who died an infant, tized on the 23d, and died the same evening; and on the 5th her body was conveyed by water, attended by many persons of quality, and officers of arms, Lady Arbella being mourner; and was buried

in the same vault as her fister Mary had been. The monument is PART X. fingular, reprefenting a cradle.

Children of K. James VI. and Queen Ann.

7. Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of K. James and Q. Ann, Elizabeth, who whose history, with that of her descendants, will more conveniently rie, Elector Pafall in here than if the had been mentioned next after K. Charles I. latine, and after the terminal strength of the had been mentioned next after K. Charles I. latine, and after the had been mentioned next after K. Charles I. latine, and after the had been mentioned next after K. Charles I. latine, and after the had been mentioned next after K. Charles I. latine, and after the had been mentioned next after K. Charles I. latine, and after the had been mentioned next after the ha her brother. She was born in Scotland Aug. 16 or 19, 1596, and of Bohemia. baptized on the Sunday of the following month; the sponsors were, O. Elizabeth, represented by Bowes, her ambassador, and the city of Edinburgh, by the magistrates: she was entrusted to the care of the Earl of Linlithgow when King James came to England.

After rejecting feveral Roman-Catholic Princes, she was affianced to Frederic V. Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, Silefia, &c. and one of the Electoral College, cup-bearer and high steward of the empire; he was born Aug. 16, 1596. His highness landed at Gravesend Oct. 16, 1612, accompanied by Prince Maurice of Naffau; installed Knight of the Garter at Windfor. According to the cuftom of the times, the bans were published in the chapel-royal, and, Feb. 14, he married the Princess at Whitehall. The ceremony was very magnificent; the bride was led by Prince Charles, and the Earl of Northampton, privy feal; her royal highness was habited in black velvet, as mourning for her late brother, Prince Henry, and not in white, as Sandford and other writers have affirmed; her train was borne by twelve young ladies of distinction, also dressed in black; she wore a coronet of pearls, and in her flowing locks were braided pearls and jewels: the King, her father, gave her away, the Archbishop married her, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells preached the bridal fermon. On her return from chapel she was conducted by two married noblemen, the Duke of Lenox, and the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral; a splendid masque was given in honor of the nuptials, and she received from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London a fet of Oriental pearls, valued at 2,000l.

PART X. James VI. and Queen Ann.

The nation entirely rejoiced in this marriage; the only objection children of K, was its celebration fo foon after the death of the Prince of Wales; but as the presence of the Elector could not long be dispensed with from his own court, it excused this feeming impropriety; the aid amounted to 20,500l. The illustrious pair having taken leave of their majesties, April 10, went to Rochester, where they embarked the 29th, and landed at Flushing; from thence they went to Heidelberg, his capital, and fuch profusion was displayed, that a relation was published both in the English and German languages*: but this alliance, fo honorable for him, proved very unfortunate, for the Bohemians, in 1619, throwing off the galling yoke of the house of Austria, offered him their crown; flattering himself with fupport from his father-in-law, in a fatal moment he agreed to accept it, but was foon undeceived, for James did not hefitate to express his disapprobation, and to acknowledge that he confidered him as a usurper, and the Bohemians rebels; fo high did this monarch carry his notions of subjection, even by an oppressed people, groaning under a cruel bondage, made more so by religious persecution. Frederic, left to defend himself, was, by the loss of the

> * I have feen an imperfect pamphlet in the German language, giving a relation of the Prince's Elizabeth's marriage, and of all the magnificence displayed upon the occasion, both in England and Germany. There were two engravings in it, and probably there had been others; they were executed by Eb. Kiefer; the first gives the marriage procession: the pageantry was preceded by 6 trumpeters, then came the Paligrave, between the Duke of Lenox and the Earl of Nottingham, attended by 8 others; the Princess, with a coronet and her flowing hair, conducted by her brother, Prince Charles, and the Earl of Northampton, followed by 10, not 12 ladies; after whom came 12 gentlemen, probably young noblemen; 4 heralds, each bearing a sceptre; then 6 gentlemen; a king at arms; 6 persons of rank; 4 bishops; 4 officers of arms, each bearing a fceptre; a nobleman, bearing the fword; the King's majesty, followed by 2 noblemen; her majesty, with her train borne by a lady, and followed by feveral other ladies. There are guards with fide-arms and long battle-axes, which they bear upon their shoulders; the bride and bridegroom are most magnificently dreffed. The other engraving is the meeting of the CHURF and PRINCELLIN, near Heidelberg, with all the foldiers brought from their tents; cannon are being fired; Sh. Berg, Heidelberg, Wijblingen, with the Neikar and the camps, are represented; the coaches are magnificent, but very large and heavy.

battle of Whitehill, fought near Prague, November 8, 1620, he PART X loft not only Bohemia, but his hereditary dominions, neither of Children of K. which did he ever recover, but fled to Reenen, in the province of Queen Ann. Utrecht, where he kept his little court, but in a mean manner; even K. James, profuse as he was, supplying them with a sparing hand; and they received still less from K. Charles I. Frederic has been blamed exceedingly for his rashness in accepting the crown; in risking a battle that was to decide his fate, the loss of which must be his total ruin; and in too hastily quitting the field, though life, without dominion, was not worth preserving. He bore his misfortunes with fortitude, and the with magnanimity; the English continued constant to her and her interest, and the Dutch, with whom she resided, called her the "Queen of hearts;" yet this did not prevent some of their stern Republicans from basely making her misfortunes a subject of mirth, inhumanly sporting with her hapless fate, a fate she had not brought upon herself. Her interest was certainly facrificed by K. James, that his fon might marry a daughter of Spain, unless he vainly supposed, that by that alliance he should be able to procure the restoration of his son-in-law *, who, in 1623, had been put to the ban of the empire, so that his dignity and dominions were alike forfeited by the judgment of the Germanic constitution, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, with other Princes, who vainly endeavored to foften the inflexible and haughty Ferdinand II. The lower Palatinate was conquered by Philip IV. of Spain; the

^{*} The Dutch, in feveral of their engravings, gave the Queen of Bohemia in a ludicrous light; one of them represents her as an Irish glibbin, or mantler, with her hair dishevelled, carrying a child upon her back, and her father following with a cradle. In contempt of K. James's egregious folly in trusting to negociation rather than arms, he was depicted with a scabbard without a sword, and with a sword stuck fo fast, that he could not draw it out; and upon the Continent he was ridiculed in plays and songs, as well as caricatures. In the Netherlands was acted a farce, in which was a passage spoken by a messenger, who, in haste, said that the Palatine would soon be affisted by a vast army from a powerful confederacy, for the King of Denmark would fend 100,000 pickled herrings, the Hollanders 100,000 butter boxes, and England 100,000 ambassadors.

PART X. upper one by Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, who also obtained the Children of R electoral dignity Feb. 23, 1623-4. What compassion must we not James VI. and feel for these illustrious unfortunates, when the Prince thus expresfes himself in one of his letters to the Princess: "Would to God " that we had a little corner of the world, in which we could " live quietly and contentedly together; that is all the happiness I "wish for." After seeing some weak efforts made by the sword. and still more ineffectual ones by the pen, from James I. and Charles I. he funk under the weight of his afflictions, November 10, 1632, at Mentz, whither he had a little before removed to, from Francfort.

> Mr. Howel acquaints the Earl of Leicester, that the malignity of the plague was exhaled from the electoral King, and that great hopes were entertained of his recovery; but the news of the death of his illustrious friend, the Swedish hero, so shocked him, as all his hopes had been in that King for his restitution, that he sunk under the burden of his misfortunes, and this last the greatest of all:

> The Protestants of Germany felt for his death, as a martyr to their interests; he appears rather as an amiable than a great man. There are fine porgraits of the King and Queen of Bohemia, by Cornelius Jansen, at the Mote, near Maidstone, the seat of that most respectable and universally-beloved nobleman, Lord Romney, giving them as large as life, in fable habits, with the infignia of that royalty which was fo fatal to their happiness; his person is good; she, though not handsome, is far more so than either of her parents: their misfortunes feem depicted in their countenances. After the death of Ferdinand, she resided at the Hague, where the lived to fee the dreadful miseries of her family; her brother, K. Charles I. led to execution by his subjects, and his children rendered, like her own, exiles, without either territories or any thing to support their high birth. The affection she at all times shewed to the King, her brother, and to his family, does great honor to her fenfibility, as her diftinguishing the merit of Lord

Craven does to her differnment: this gallant nobleman, who, from PART X. partiality to her person and interest, had supported both with his Children of K. blood and fortune, aspired to and obtained her in marriage; his James VI. and Queen Ann. Lordship was, in a great measure, the support of herself and family during her widowhood, until he was plundered of his fine effate and rich valuables by the Republicans, for having affifted K. Charles I. and K. Charles II. in their misfortunes *. After the restoration of the latter, joy and gladness beamed again into her mind, after they had been abfent fo many years; and Charles having invited an aunt, who had seemed to have forgotten her own to lament his calamities, the vifited England, after the had been fo long a stranger, arriving in London May 17, 1661; to shew the great esteem she had for Lord Craven's invariable attention to her, she refided not in any one of the palaces, but first in a house belonging to that nobleman in Drury Lane, and then in another of his, called Leicester House, St. Martin's in the Fields. Providence seemed to have spared her, only to witness the restoration of those crowns to her nephew, which were doomed one day to adorn her own offfpring. Though this unfortunate Princess had been deserted by

* William, Lord Craven, the fon of Sir William Craven, Knt. Lord Mayor of London; he was created a Baron, in 1626, by K. Charles I. and by K. Charles II. a Viscount and Earl. He had resided abroad twenty years; he was trusted and beloved by that monarch; he was also a privy counsellor to K. James II. but who took away his regiment from him, because he would not go contrary to his superior duty to his country; he felt this misfortune exquifitely, yet, though he joined in the Revolution, K. William did not restore it to him: he died April 9, 1697, aged nearly eighty-nine years, and was buried at Punley, near Coventry, April 20th following. His Lordship had been, in his younger days, one of the most accomplished gentlemen in Europe; an useful subject, charitable, abstenious to himself. generous to others; familiar in his conversation, and universally beloved. "His " constant attendance at every fire in London occasioned it to be faid, " that his " horse smelt fire as soon as it happened." At Comb Abbey, the seat of Lord Craven, are very many portraits of the electoral family, fome very fine. Sir Rob. Craven, brother of his Lordship, was master of the horse to the Q. of Bohemia. By limitation, the barony of Craven is enjoyed by the present Peer, who is defcended from Henry, elder brother of William, grandfather of William, Earl of Craven. 4

PART X.
Children of K.
James VI. and
Queen Ann.

her father and brother, the nation, more just, always regarded her with affection, pitied her misfortunes, and would have vindicated them, had those monarchs called out the energy of their subjects: her virtues were rendered more conspicuous by the unhappy events of her life; and most of those who grieved to see the throne divided by a Roman-Catholic Princess, would gladly have feated Elizabeth upon it, and secured the succession to her children, to the exclusion of those of K. Charles I.; and in nothing did Archbishop Laud lose the good opinion of the people more, than in directing that the Queen of Bohemia and her children should not be mentioned in the liturgy *: her constant and invariable steadiness to the Protestant religion riveted the public attachment; for when the marriage of her destitute fon with a daughter of the Emperor was proposed, she replied, "I had rather be his executioner;" though by it, and the facrifice of his religion, he would have obtained the restitution of his father's dominions.

The issue of Frederic, K. of Bohemia, and the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of K. James.

Prince Frederic-Henry. 1. Frederic-Henry, born Jan. 1, 1614-15. This Prince lost his life by the oversetting of a public passage-boat, upon his return from Amsterdam to Utrecht, owing to a thick fog; he clung to the vessel until he was frozen: his father, who was with him, saved his life by swimming; this catastrophe happened Jan. 7, 1629.

Prince Charles 2. Charles Lodowic, born at Heidelburgh, Dec. 22, 1617; after Lodowic. the misfortunes of his unhappy parents, he was conveyed from

* So late as 1645 the Elector Charles, fon of the Queen of Bohemia, wrote to his mother, that "the Parliament hath never, fince I came to England, denied or de- layed any thing that was offered to them concerning your bufinefs, nor do I think they will whenever it comes before them; your majefly may then judge where it licth." The English felt properly for her misfortunes; but King Charles envied his fifter's popularity. How little did he think of the reverse that awaited him—her defeendants are now upon the British throne, and his easles.

thence, when four years old, to Wirtemberg and Brandenburgh, FART X. and laftly to Holland, and received his education at the Hague, Iffue of Fredeand at Leyden; at the age of eighteen he came into England, and hemis, by the was honored by his uncle, K. Charles I. with the order of the Gar-beth, daughter ter. In 1637 he fought the battle of Vlota, in Westphalia, and, of K. James. by advice of the Prince of Orange, came over to folicit the command of the Swedish army in Germany, upon the death of Duke Barnard; and great interest was made by the French ambassador to Car the minister; but impatient to obtain it, with the strong garrifon of Brifac, he privately left England in 1639, intending to pass through France, in disguise; the French, suspecting his rank by the ships faluting him in the Downs, and by his own discharging a volley when he landed at Bologne, he was feized at Moulins; but denying himself, it so enraged Richlieu, that he sent him under an arrest to Bois de Vincennes, where he remained a prisoner for twenty-three weeks, and obtained his liberty only by the mediation of his royal uncle. He afterwards came over to this kingdom again, but left his majesty at York, upon the breaking out of the civil wars, and went to Holland. The Parliament, in 1643, proposed, at the treaty of Oxford, that an alliance should be entered into for the recovery of the Palatinate; this, perhaps, determined him to support their interest, in opposition of his relation's; an indecency of conduct that first brought a contempt upon him, which was increased by his coming again in the following year, to the furprize and disapprobation even of the party he courted, who told him he ought to remain abroad, that his interest demanded it. requesting to know what occasioned his coming hither; his reply was, to take all jealousies off from him, from the conduct of some of his relations, and affured them how much he wished them succefs in their great undertaking for a "thorough reformation," and expressed his joy to hear they had taken the "covenant;" such behavior was highly refented by the King, who wrote to know what his defigns were, but haughtily added, it was only from curiofity, and that because he was his fister's son. He remained, however, still with the disloyal Parliament, and condescended to sit

PART X. in the affembly of divines, to hear their debates, having apartIffue of Frede, ments affigned him in Whitehall, with a pension of 8,000l until
ric, K. of Bohemia, by the he should be better provided for. K. Charles resused to receive a
Princes Estars visit from him when under condemnation; even his brothers treated
beth, daughter with the start of the sta

Princes Eliza- visit from him when under condemnation; even his brothers treated of K. James. him with scorn, In 1649 he was arrested at a city feast; it was, however, refented by the House of Commons; notwithstanding this difgrace, he remained still with the party that dethroned and condemned his uncle: at length, having written a letter to the Parliament, humbly thanking them for their favors, and requesting a continuance of his pension, and the payment of his arrears, which was ordered, and obtaining a pass for himself and forty attendants, he was permitted to leave the kingdom. He had the good fortune to be restored by the treaty of Munster, concluded in that year, to the Lower Palatinate, and to the electoral dignity, conditionally, that he renounced all claims to the Upper Palatinate. He refused the smallest affistance to K. Charles II. when in distress, nor would he permit the exiled monarch, his near relation, to come within his dominions; nor did he fend him a messenger to pay him a compliment, even whilft he was at Cologne, which was very near him, though the Duke of Newburg behaved with an attention and regard that reflects as much honor upon him, as it does difgrace upon the Elector, as England had so often afforded him an afylum, and had granted his family fo many subsidies. His Highness died Aug. 28, 1680, lamented by none; he was a bad fon, behaving with a parfimony to his mother that nothing could excuse; nor was he a better husband, deserting the Electress for his mistress, and, as has been feen, an unkind relation; in fine, he was entirely unamiable; but his understanding was good; in the school of adversity he learned to read mankind, but he faw it in its worst light. He married, Feb. 12, 1650, Charlotte, daughter of William V. Landgrave of Hesse, who, from the ill treatment she met with, foon returned to the court of Heffe; she died March 16, 1686, aged fifty-nine years. The iffue of this marriage was, 1, Charles. Elector Palatine, born March 31, 1615, in whom the male branch of this line became extinct, May 16, 1685, he leaving no child

by Wilhelmina-Ernestina, daughter of Frederic III. King of Den-PART X. mark, and sister of Prince George of Denmark, husband of Ann, Issue of Frederic Queen of Great Britain; and, 2, Charlotte-Elizabeth, born May henia, by the 27, 1652; she was married, November 21, 1671, to Philip, Princes Elizabeth, daughter Duke of Orleans, brother of Lewis XIV. and died December 8, of K. James. 1782, from which marriage the branch of Orleans descends *.

3. Rupert, fo named in remembrance of the Emperor of this Prince Rupert, family, was born at Prague, Dec. 17, 1619, just preceding the berland, &c. battle, which was fo fatal to the interests of his parents, and their family. When only fourteen years of age he went with the Prince of Orange to the fiege of Rhineberg, and came with his eldest brother to England, and received the order of the Garter at the same time it was conferred upon him: when eighteen years of age he commanded a regiment of horse in the wars of Germany; but in 1638, he was taken prisoner in the battle of Vlota by Count Hartzfeild, a general of the Imperialists, and it was three years before he could obtain his freedom. In 1642, he came over into England to fight under the royal banner; obtained the place of general of horse: Jan. 19, 1642-3, he was made a free denizen; and the 24th of the following month was honored with the titles of Earl of Holderness and Duke of Cumberland; but he injured the cause he came to defend more by his rashness, than he served it by his bravery: his furrender of Bristol did inexpressible mischief. Upon the death of

^{*} The Elector Charles Lodowic, by Maria-Louisa, daughter of Christopher Martin, Baron of Dagenfeild, his mistress, or "wise by the left hand," had four-teen children, eight of whom died in their infancy. Charlotte, the eldest daughter, became the wise of the first Duke of Schomberg, killed at the battle of the Boyne; her grace died at Kensington June 15, 1696. Frederica, another daughter, was Counters of Holderness in England; Mary, Counters of Dagenfeild in Germany; Æmilia-Eliz. died unmarried: the sons who lived to be men, all became soldiers; none of them left issue. In 1606 he laments, with much passion, the death of one of his natural sons, who had been educated under the care of Prince Edward; he was sent to Paris, and it was intended for him to travel into Spain and Italy: the inconsolable father says "his moderation and discretion were beyond his years in inatt tyes."

PART X. K. Charles I. he was more fortunate in the royal part of the fleet, If ne of Frede of which he obtained the command, and against a far superior force. ric, K. of Bo- and when blocked up in the harbour of Kinsale, he, by his resolu-Princefs Elization, broke through the ships of the Republic, and made good his of K. James. retreat to a neutral port. He remained at the courts of Saris, Vienna, or Heidelburg, until the restoration, when he came over, and was received with the greatest regard by K. Charles II., who made him a privy councellor, and gave him the command of the fleet jointly with the Duke of Albermarle, where he shone more than ever, uniting discretion to skill and bravery in the Dutch war. He spent the remainder of his days in retirement at Windsor, of which he was Governor, pursuing the studies of chemistry and other sciences. He was the inventor of a kind of engraving, called Metzotinto, and of a metal named from him, Prince's Metal; and of feveral other things, especially in gunpowder and fire arms .-His manners were nor calculated for the refined and delicate court of K. Charles II., and his features and person corresponded with his behaviour; from which cause he made but an indifferent figure in the gay circle that furrounded the throne: he is faid to have had so great a disgust to the licentiousnels of it, and to the inclination to a boundless lust of arbitrary power, that he purposed to have espoused the country interest, when he was taken off by death, at his house in Spring Gardens, Nov. 29, 1682, universally beloved by fuch who knew him in private life; and it was generally thought had he lived to fee the revolution he would have joined in it. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. Prince Rupert was never married; but in 1632 it was proposed that he should espouse the daughter of M. de Rohan, "great both in means and birth, and of the re-" formed religion." His highness lest two natural children, Dudley, Bart. and Ruperta, by Margaret Hewes. To these and Mrs. Hewes he left all his property, except some few legacies. Ruperta married Scrope Emanuel Howe, Esq., by whom she had William Howe, Esq., ancestor of the ennobled family of that name: this lady was uncommonly plain, if the portrait of her at Hinchinbrook is a refemblance; though what is engraved for her likeness in the. letters of the electoral family published by Mr. Bromley is beau- PART X. tiful.

Iffue of Frede-ric, K. of Bo-hemia, by the

- 3. Maurice, born Dec. 17, 1620, came into England Sept. Princes Eliza-1644, with his brother Rupert, and engaged with him in the royal of K. James. cause, in which he performed very gallant actions, especially at Exeter, at Dartmouth, and at Lanfdown; but as "Rupert wanted " a great deal of his phlegm," fo he "wanted a little of his fire." He was equally unhappy in displeasing his uncle K. Charles I., who refused even to permit him to vindicate himself in person; yet he proved true to his interest, and to that of Charles II., in whose fervice he failed, with a defign to go to the West Indies, with one of those thins that retained their allegiance, but unfortunately he was cast away, it is supposed, in the Atlantic Ocean, in 1654 .---Prince Maurice was never married.
- 4. Edward, born at the Hague, Oct. 5, 1625, who, in 1645, Prince Edward professing the tenets of Rome, retired into France, where he was well received, but it gave the Queen, his mother, the most sensible grief; Charles II. gave him the order of the Garter. He died March 13, 1663, having married, in 1645, Ann, daughter and co-heir of Charles Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers in France, fifter to the Queen of Poland, and aunt to the Empress; the Princess died in 1684. The iffue of this marriage was three daughters, Louisa-Mary, born July 13, 1647, married, in 1671, to Charles-Theodore Otto, Prince of Salm, who died in 1710; Ann-Henrica-Julia, born July 23, 1648, and married, December 11, 1663, to Henry-Julius, Prince of Conde, who died March 31, 1709, and she February 23, 1723: and Benedicta-Henrietta, born in 1652, married, in 1677, to John Frederic, Duke of Hanover, uncle to K. George I.; he died in 1679, she in 1724 The descendants of these three ladies being all Roman Catholics, were cut off by the Parliament, in the reign of K. William, from inheriting the imperial crown of these realms.

Fle - 11 11

PART X. 5. Lewis, born August 21, 1626, and died December 24. Iffee of Frede- following.

ric, K. of Bo-hemia, by the

Princess Eliza-6. Philip, born at the Hague September 26, 1627: this Prince beth, daughter of K. James. obtained a pass to come to England, April 25, 1648, to visit his Lewis, died and brother, the Elector; and in May following he had leave to raise a infant. Prince Philip thousand foot for the service of Venice: he was flain, December 15, 1650, at the battle of Rheteb, near St. Stephen's.

7. Gustavus, born at the Hague January 14, 1632, and died Gustavus, died a child. in January, 1641: he received his baptismal name from the hero; of Sweden.

Princels Eliz. Abbefs of Hervorden.

8. Elizabeth, born December 26, 1618, became Abbels of the. Protestant nunnery of Hervorden, in Germany; she was one of the most extraordinary women that we read of in history. She corresponded with the celebrated Des Cartes, who was regarded as the Newton of his time, upon the most difficult and abstruse fubjects. That philosopher tells her, in the Dedication of his Principiæ, which he addressed to her, that she was the only person he met with who perfectly understood his works. She was not only an admirer of philosophy, but justly attached to poetry; Christina, Q. of Sweden, who envied those great accomplishments the affected to possess; meanly insulted her. She noticed the legiflator of Pennfylvania, honored him with many conferences and letters, and did not diflike his religious fentiments. She died February 8, 1680.

Princess Louisa Hollandina, biffon.

2. Louisa-Hollandina, born April 18, 1622, and educated at Abbessof M.u- the Hague; this Princess was distinguished by the fineness of her pencil; her paintings are alike valuable for their scarceness and excellence, and are efteemed, by the lovers of the fine arts, on both accounts equal to the first masters. At Wilton is a portrait of her by Gerard Honthorst, the instructor of the electoral family; she is represented in a straw hat. Though brought up in the tenets

of the church of England by her mother, yet in 1649 she forfook PART X. the Protestant faith for that of Rome, and died, February 11, Iffue of Frede 1709, Lady Abbess of Maubisson, at Ponthoise, near Paris, hemin, by the when she had attained the age of eighty-fix. The abruptness beth, daughter with which she left a fond mother was extremely reprehensible.

10. Henrietta-Maria, born in 1626, married, in 1651, to Sigif- Princess Henmond Ragotzki, Prince of Transylvania, but who died in the married to Sisame year.

gilmond Ragotzki, Prince of Tranfyl-

11. Charlotte, born December 19, 1628, and died on Ja-Princes Charnuary 24, 1631.

lotte, died a

12. Sophia, the youngest child, born at the Hague October 13, Princess so-1630, became more illustrious than any of her family, as a re- to Ernett Auward for retaining her religious sentiments. She was married, of Hanover. September 30, 1658, to Ernest-Augustus, Duke of Hanover, in whose favor that principality was raised to a ninth electorate in 1692; he died January 23, 1698: she long furvived, and faw, what at first she would not credit, the British crown settled upon her and her descendants, in preference to so many princes, potentates, even monarchs, who, in point of strict hereditary right, had preferable claims, but were precluded on account of their profeffing the erroneous and bigoted tenets of the Papal see; so that now every possessor of these dominions must claim through the Princess Sophia. It is generally thought that Q. Ann had a particular enmity to her, not only as her heir prefumptive, in preference to the ill-fated James, her brother, but because she had, in her younger days, put an affront upon the Queen, by obliging George, her fon, to leave England, to marry his first cousin, though he was sent purpofely to espouse her majesty, then only the Princess Ann; their mutual diflike was heightened by the almost peremptory demand and absolute denial of the Queen's receiving any part of the house of Hanover at her court; and, it is supposed, that the strong terms her majefty used in a letter she wrote to the Princess, complaining

ric, K. of Bo-hemia, by the

of her conduct, hastened her death, which happened suddenly, as Iffue of Frede. The was walking in the gardens of Hawrenhausen, June 8, 1714, Princes Eliza-beth, daughter days previous to Q. Ann's death, whom she would have succeeded, of K. James. when in the eighty-fourth year of her age, and only fifty-three had the furvived. This illustrious lady "not only excelled in an " elegant taste for literature and the arts, but was mistress of every " qualification requifite to adorn a crown;" and it was truly faid of this Princess, and her fifters, Elizabeth and Louisa, " that the " first was the most learned, the second the greatest artist, and the " third the most accomplished lady in Europe." She had many children, but none left iffue, except her eldest son George, and her daughter, Sophia-Charlotte, Q. of Prussia: the former, upon the death of Q. Ann, became King of Great Britain, and was fucceeded by his fon, K. George II. and he by his grandfon, his prefent most gracious majesty-and may he long reign over a loval and dutiful, a rich and happy people; and may the illustrious house of Brunswic, his posterity, ever continue to receive and give equal bleffings.

FINIS.

POSTSCRIPT.

The author fears he has been too favorable to the character of Mary, K. James II.'s Queen, for Leland, in his Itinerary, fays. "There was one of the Grays of Northumberlande, a man of " greate repute in the tyme of Edwarde IV. that was suspect with " the Quene of Scottes of adulterie; whereupon he beying accusid of a gentilman of Scotteland, cam with a band, as it is faide, of " a 1000 men of Edinborow, and there caste down his glove to

" fight in the liftes with his accuser: but he departid withoute

of fighteing; yet was it supposed, that Gray was not accused therof

" withoute a cawfe."





